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FIG. 2.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.

A SCULPTURED STONE CHEST FROM THE PANUCO VALLEY.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Mexico: Archæology. With Plate A.

Joyce.

Note on a Sculptured Stone Chest from the Panuco Valley. By 1
T. A. Joyce, M.A.

The stone chest, of which the four sides are figured on Plate A, was acquired by the British Museum in 1879, together with five stone sculptures originating from the Huastec country, in the region of the Panuco Valley, Mexico. It is cut from solid greyish volcanic rock, and is of the following dimensions:—

Exterior—Length, 76 cm.; breadth, 56 cm.; height, 35 cm.

Interior—Length, 60 cm.; breadth, 41 cm.; height, 25 cm.

The upper edge is furnished with a rabbet (45 mm. by 25 mm.), over which fits a solid lid of similar stone, shaped like a truncated pyramid. This lid, not shown in the illustration, measures at the base 80 cm. by 63 cm., and at the top 70 cm. by 48 cm.; it is 22 cm. deep, and slightly hollowed out so as to fit over the rabbet of the chest.

As can be seen from the plate, the sides of the chest are sculptured in bold relief with a design which is practically identical in each case. Two figures are seated facing one another, stretching out their hands towards a head (or mask) which lies on the ground between them, and from which springs what is perhaps a plume of feathers.

The right-hand figure wears a cipaetli or eecatli mask; the left-hand figure either carries a small mouth mask, like that seen on Zapotec pottery figures, or is furnished with a fleshless jaw, which frequently appears among the Maga as an attribute of the death-god. The head between the two figures is similar to that of the figure on the left. The work is stiff and archaic in character, but here and there some attempt at elaboration appears, e.g., in the treatment of the dress of the left-hand figure on Plate A3. At first sight it looks as if the three dots above the central head might form part of a date, but they may equally well be merely part of the ornamental head-dress.

Again the left-hand figure appears to be accompanied by numerical signs, in fig. 2 by a double curl which may be equivalent to the Maga sign for 0; in fig 1,

by 1; in fig. 4, by 2; and in fig. 3, by 3. The right-hand figure, on the other hand, is only once accompanied by what may be a numeral, namely, in fig. 1, where that numeral may be 2. However, the raised circle is so common as an ornamental element in the carving of this chest that these signs may not be numerals at all, and the chest, like the other known monuments of Huastec art, may be devoid of glyphs altogether.

Chests of this nature were used in the Mexican valley as receptacles for the ashes of the dead, and by analogy, it may be concluded that this specimen also is a coffin. If this is so, and if the sculptured scene be considered symbolical rather than calendrical, and the right-hand figure be taken to represent *eccatl*, then the whole device may portray the death-god and life-god struggling for possession of the deceased. If the right-hand figure be taken as a *cipactli*-headed deity, and therefore an earth-god, the picture may be meant to show the deceased in the hands of the lords of the underworld. Of these two explanations, the latter is, I think, preferable, but I do not pretend that it is entirely satisfactory, and I should be only too glad to receive suggestions. It is in the hope of eliciting these that I venture to publish the photographs of the chest, though the interest of the specimen, owing to the comparative rarity of Huastec carvings in museums, is sufficient excuse.

T. A. JOYCE.

Fiji: Ethnology.

Hocart.

Note on the Dual Organisation in Fiji. By A. M. Hocart.

2

The ethnology of the smaller islands of Fiji and the east coast of Viti Levu yielded abundant evidence that the dual organisation once existed in parts of Fiji or among one of the races that enter into the composition of the Eastern Fijians.* On returning to Fiji as research student of Exeter College, Oxford, I have been able to ascertain its present existence in the valleys of the Ndreketi and Wainunu rivers of Vanua Levu.

Pending a more complete account of the evidence collected, the following summary may be of interest.

The two moieties are called *vosa*, a word identified by the natives, rightly or wrongly, with the Mbauan *vusa*, a tribe or family. They have little practical importance beyond that a man must marry into the opposite *vosa*. The only other use I could discover was, that in the game of *tingga* (reed throwing) the players were divided into two camps according to *vosa*. A man belongs to his mother's *vosa*.

Perhaps the most suggestive feature is that the *vosa* are called *vosa turanga* and *vosa dhauravou* respectively. I have shown in another paper† that *turanga* may mean elder, or noble; *dhauravou*, younger, or plebeian. Which meaning must we adopt here? Evidently a difference of age is almost out of the question, for we cannot see why one moiety should be older than the other. We must, therefore, conclude that one moiety was originally noble and the other not. This opens the way to many speculations, which can only be answered by a complete survey of Fiji and neighbouring islands. The meanings of noble and plebeian are comparatively late; therefore the names of the *vosa* must also be comparatively late. There are other reasons to suppose that the dual organisation is not aboriginal among these Fijians, but here again a complete survey must precede such a discussion.

Among the same tribes each man has some animal or plant (I cannot call them totems, for reasons to be set forth in another paper). This animal or plant is one living or growing in the man's sacred land. If it is an animal, it may haunt it simply as a spirit, not in the flesh. As a man's sacred land is his mother's, and he

* See the Fijian custom of *tauvu*, *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*, 1913, Vol. XLIII, p. 101.

† On the meaning of the Fijian word *turanga*, *MAN*, 1913, 80.

also takes his mother's plant and animal. He may eat freely of both, because "he is one with them."* On the other hand, he may not eat his father's animal or plant, which he speaks of as his *kalou*, that is his ghost or spirit.† If he eats of it, he gets sores.

As far as the clan‡ goes, these tribes are now in a state of transition from matrilineal descent to patrilineal descent, the latter tending to prevail.

A. M. HOCART.

Nigeria, Southern : Linguistics.

Thomas.

"Slang" in Southern Nigeria. By N. W. Thomas.

At Onitsha and Asaba, and possibly elsewhere in the Ibo country, a kind of backslang known as *akolo* is spoken, the basis of which is the ordinary language. It is spoken best, I am informed, by older men, but my informants were youths of seventeen or eighteen, and their fluency left nothing to be desired.

The main lines of formation are, (1) inversion of syllables, often with concurrent vowel change; (2) insertion of a syllable or syllables either in the body of the word, or more often as a suffix; (3) occasionally the dropping of a syllable in a re-duplicated word or (4) the use of an entirely different word, which is itself reduplicated, but has not necessarily either vowels or consonants in common with the original word.

Individual words are dealt with on one principle, and the rules that apply to polysyllables may be applied also to combinations of words; the result is that a word used by itself looks and sounds entirely different from the same word used with an adjective; and if the noun and adjective form part of a sentence there is no limit to the changes of form they may undergo.

Real monosyllables are rare in Ibo, and it is difficult to illustrate the rules that apply in the case of monosyllables; *nwa*, child, becomes *tañwa*, as though *nwa* were *nwata*; *mmẹ*, blood, takes a suffix and becomes *mẹbunke*; as the *m* in *mme* is double, it might appear that this suffix is used because the word is, like *nti* (*ntibunke*), practically a dissyllable; but *nna*, father, and *nno*, mother, make *munna*, *munne*; though *nnu*, salt, makes *nubunke*; the rule is therefore uncertain.

When we come to dissyllables we are on firmer ground; with consonantal anlaut the syllables are simply reversed and *n* prefixed: *mwady*, person, *ndoma*; *mili*, water, *nlimi*. Where the initial letter is *n* followed by *t*, so far as a rule can be derived from a single example, the word is treated like one with vowel anlaut, and *bake*, *bẹke*, etc., suffixed *i.e.*, *b* (or *w*) is interposed between the initial vowel, which of course follows the final vowel (practically all nouns have vowel anlaut) and *ke* is added; *e.g.*, *nti*, ear, *ntibunke* (for *ntinbuke*). As examples of vowel anlaut may be cited *isi* (*usibike*), head; *ainya* (*nyabake*) eye; *onu* (*nuwoke*), neck; an exception is *aka* (*okahọ*) hand; *ano*, four, is unchanged; *ofu*, one, takes a prefix *n* without vowel change.

The difference of tone in words otherwise homonymous is to some extent at least preserved; *ākwā*, egg, makes *nkwabẹkẹ*; *ākwā*, cloth, makes *nkwābẹkẹ*.

In trisyllables, syllables one and two may be reversed: *okporo* (*orokpo*), woman; or perhaps only the consonants, for we find *okpala* (*olakpia*), chief; *obosi* (*oseho*), day. In reduplicated words one syllable may be dropped and the rule for dissyllables followed, *nñiñi* (*nñibunkeke*), night; *ototo* (*ntubokeke*), morning, an extra *ke* at the

* Lest anyone should be tempted to make capital of this expression in favour of psychological theories, such as that the savage cannot distinguish between himself and anything connected with himself, I must point out that there is nothing mystic in the phrase. It is a common way of expressing anything from identity to membership of the same clan, tribe, &c.

† See on the meaning of *kalou*, *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*, 1912, Vol. XLII, p. 437.

‡ Fijian *matangali* are not exogamous as a rule, but in this and subsequent papers I propose to call them clans, as there is no recognised term for such non-exogamous groups.

end marking the reduplication. Okei, man, makes ikeimwi; asatọ (akutu), eight, is irregular; as are ududo (ukuku), spider; nnono (nkuku), bird; apapa (okuku) groundnut.

In quadrisyllables numbers two and four may be reversed, agilisi (asiligi), hair; but we also find orimili (omilini), Niger; akbakañwu (añwukekba), honey; but these are mainly compound words.

Where two dissyllables are joined the rule is simpler; syllables two and four are simply interchanged, usually with vowel modification: nti nabi (mbọ nati), two ears; ainya nabi (abọ nainya) two eyes; but where elision has taken place the lost vowel is reinserted, but not necessarily in its proper place, ilin'ofu (ifuliọna), eleven.

With words of more syllables various rules prevail, ikporo nabi (ibo hanekpo), two women; mili ozizo (azolomimi) rain.

In sentences a simple interchange of two consonants is sometimes found, nkita nke nti (ntita nkẹnka), the dog which I beat; in other cases syllable two is replaced by syllable three and itself becomes syllable four, oru bia (obi eru); in dealing with reduplication the number of syllable is sometimes changed, ogabia tata (ogatabiabia). But certain words appear to retain the same form as when they are pronounced alone . . . important verbs have a special form, e.g. mwadụ li nni (ndoma fe ili), the man is eating; mwadụ ola (ndoma de), the man is drinking; mwadụ ol' ola (ndoma di uku), the man is sleeping.

Dissyllabic verbs may be simply reversed, jẹbẹ (bejẹ), go; or they may be lengthened, bia (diabiọwa), come. Di—ọwa appears in affirmative sentences as the mark of the verb: anọm adi ọwa kan azulẹgu (anam ađọ ka ngol' azu), I want to buy fish.

The following text was recorded from the same two informants; a phonogram of a conversation was also taken, but the speakers were totally unable to reproduce it for transcription:—

Kam akwulue adiwo suọwa, emelenoiembe, ọa onye kwe nihosimande.

Akulu nka wasu, ebẹl' emem ka oku ainyi aderomwa.

This akolo that they speak, I am sorry our word is not good.

Kamanọka kwande nainyibeke gadinọwa, egwainyeke, eke homilu.

K'odi n'ọhwa (?) ainyi gana, ike egu ainyi, ike elurọm.

As it is, we will go, we tire, I am unable.

Nyana gadikpọwa nyẹbakọnọ, ogadi ainyi tiọwa.

Nnainyi gakpọ, ainyi nọka, ogatie ainyi.

Our father will curse us, we stay long, he will beat us.

Nyẹba adeka gakpọwa inyẹbe, kade pwadiainyi edizi epọwa.

Ainyi kaya (?), gakpọ b'ainyi (k'ainyi na), wa gwa ainyi pu n'ẹzi.

We stay long, they will curse us, our mates, let us go, they will say to us, go outside.

The first line is Akolo, the second ordinary Ibo. The numbers above vowels indicate the tone, one being the high tone. In this transcription ẹ and ọ are open, e, o closed. The bracketed words are Akolo.

N. W. THOMAS.

England: Archæology.

Higgins: Smith.

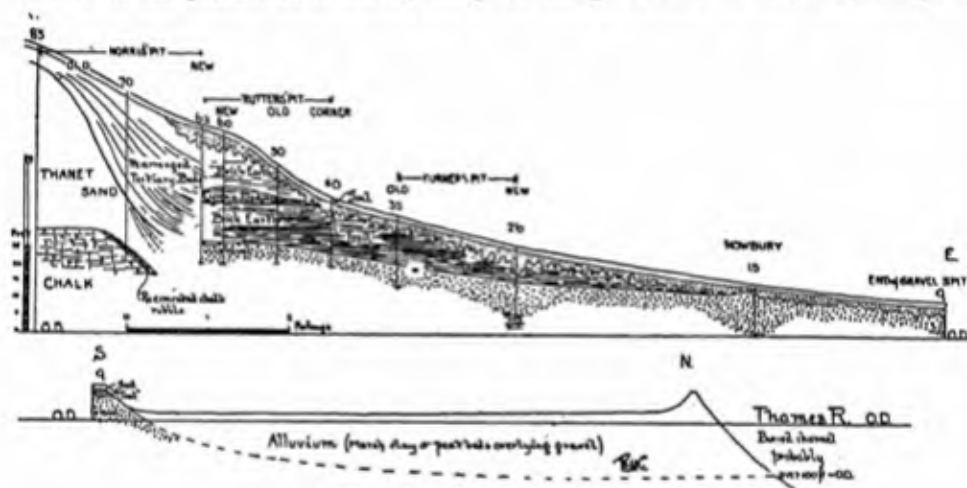
Flint Implements of Moustier Type and Associated Mammalian Remains from the Crayford Brick-earths. By R. Brice **4**
Higgins (read at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 4th November 1913): with a Note by R. A. Smith.

The purpose of this paper and exhibition of flint implements together with associated mammalian remains is to show the close resemblance which exists between these finds in the Crayford Brick-earths, and some of the Moustier period of the

French archaeologists. Not only do they enable us to fix a precise date for the Crayford deposit, but at the same time the specimens provide an important link in fitting in the Thames Valley with that of the Somme.

The Crayford brick-earths form part of what is called the 50-foot terrace of the Thames Valley, and consist of a deposit of sandy clay material overlaid by a trail of Blackheath pebbles, which has been washed down from the adjoining hillside. The deposit has been laid down against an old river cliff of chalk and Thanet sand, and in the thickest portion is from 40 feet to 60 feet in depth, the brick-earth gradually thinning out towards the gravels and alluvium of the present river. The extreme levels of the brick-earth appear to extend from about Ordnance datum, at the base, to the land surface, some 60 feet or more above that point.

About 1880 Mr. F. C. J. Sparrell discovered implements and fossil remains in an old pit half a mile or so distant from the present pits and on the same formation, and recently Messrs. Leach and Chandler have paid close attention to the geological features of the present excavations, and given full particulars in the Proceedings of



the Geologists' Association.* It is to these gentlemen that I am indebted for much of the above information, and I am allowed to include the diagram published by the Association.

The specimens shown have taken me some four or five years to collect; they were all found deeply embedded in the brick-earth, and came from between the levels of 30 feet and 50 feet above Ordnance datum, the implements being obtained mainly from between the levels of 30 feet and 40 feet Ordnance datum. Both the mammalian remains and the flints have been obtained direct from the workmen engaged in the pits, and there is no reason to question the *bona fides* of these men. The implements include all that I have been able to collect, and have in no way been selected for the present occasion. The mammalian remains have been examined and named by Dr. A. Smith Woodward, and comprise the following, viz. :—

Felis leo—three teeth.

Canis lupus—right mandible.

Elephas primigenius—three molars and portions of tusks.

Rhinoceros antiquitatis—five molars and one premolar.

Equus sp. (large form)—several teeth and bones.

Bos primigenius—upper molar.

* *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, Vol. 23, p. 186.

The flints are typical Monstier, and are described by Mr. Reginald Smith in the following note. We have accordingly implements of this period associated with a fauna well known to be of the same age, and all deeply embedded in the deposit. The bones of the mammals are found in their natural position, the cutting edges of the implements are as sharp as on the day of manufacture, and both are evidently of the same age as the deposit itself; there can therefore be no hesitation in assigning the Crayford brick-earths to the Monstier period.

R. BRICE HIGGINS.

NOTE.

A considerable addition to our knowledge of the Thames drift-deposits has been made through Mr. Higgins' long and patient observation of the brick-earth pits at Crayford. Collectors would say that the deposit was sterile, or would point to Mr. Spurrell's finds of thirty years ago as the only evidence of date, fauna, and industry. Remarkable as it was, that discovery did not settle the question, for the flint chips found in close association with the jaw of a rhinoceros lay not in, but under, the brick-earth, on sand which seemed to have been derived from the Thanet sand on top of the cliff, at the foot of which they were found undisturbed. Several of these flints are exhibited with the jaw-bone at the Natural History Museum, and are in marked contrast to Mr. Higgins' find. In the first place they are quite unchanged, black, without lustre, quite sharp and unrolled. That they came from a workshop floor is proved by the fact that many of them have been refitted together, and some were evidently struck off to make an implement (subsequently found in close proximity), which fills the space left in the centre of the reconstituted nodule. They are short and relatively broad, with medium bulbs of percussion, and evidently waste flakes, the sole object being to make an implement of the core, as was usual in the Drift period. Such was the flint industry before the deposition of the brick-earth; and this recent discovery, confirmed by other finds in England, shows that a change had taken place and that the flint-worker's aim was to make implements out of the struck flakes, not out of the core. This change ushered in the palæolithic Cave-period.

The following description includes all collected by Mr. Higgins that have any distinctive features:—

1. Unpatinated brown flake, 4 in. by 2½ in., with yellow spots and knots of different density; made into a shapely implement by flaking the upper face before it was detached from the core, and subsequently worn by use as a side-scraper (*racloir*) along half one edge near the point. The bulb is large and the bulbar face is plain, but the platform above the bulb is much faceted and gives the base a curved outline. This peculiarity is in exact accordance with the form and technique of the implement, and has already been noticed at Northfleet and Amiens (*Archæologia*, LXII, 528.) (Fig. 1.)

2. Patinated flake, 4·8 in. by 2·3 in., the original black or purplish brown merging into white, and all the stages being represented. Same technique as No. 1, but less successful as an implement, and not used. Bulbar face plain with salient bulb, and platform faceted as before: the upper, convex face with longitudinal flakes, without secondary work (*cf.* flakes on plate lxxiv of *Archæologia*, LXII.) (Fig. 2.)

3. Unequally patinated flake, 5 in. by 2·4 in., the upper face with central ridge and some lateral flaking, bluish white with unpatinated yellowish knots; under face plain with bulb and faceted platform, translucent brown clouded in parts with bluish white, the patination being not so advanced as on the worked face.



FIG. 1.—FLINT IMPLEMENT WITH FACETTED BUTT, CRAYFORD.



FIG. 2.—FLINT FLAKE WITH FACETTED BUTT, CRAYFORD.

4. Unequally patinated flake, 4.2 in. by 1.9 in., similar to last but mottled white on bulbar face, and only speckled on the upper face, which has crust along one edge. The patination is most advanced just below the crust. In this specimen the platform is not faceted, and the bulb fairly flat.

5. Marbled flake, 4 in. by 3.2 in., chiefly white, the patination being earlier than the human work as it lies just below the original crust, the interior being black and showing as blue through the thinner parts of the white film. The material is faulty and the bulb missing, but the convex face has bold longitudinal flaking, and the breadth of the flake is exceptional.

6. Patinated flake, 3.5 in. by 1.6 in., white on the convex face and speckled on the plain bulbar face. The bulb is missing, the butt showing a hinge fracture; and the work is confined to longitudinal flakes on the upper face. One edge is practically straight, the other curves from the middle and meets the straight edge in a point that approaches the form of a graver, though probably without intention. There are slight traces of use on the curved edge. (Fig. 3.)

7. Patinated flake, 3.7 in. by 1.5 in., much like No. 6, but thinnest at the point, which is rounded: Convex face with clean central rib, crust along part of one edge, base a transverse fracture, and the bulbar face (bulb missing) speckled white with small knots. (Fig. 4.)

8. Black and dark grey implement with curved knife-edge 4.7 in. by 2.1 in., the junction of the two colours being clearly seen in the thick squared back. There is no true patina, the black portion lying between the thin crust and the grey layer which often occurs as knots. Bulb at pointed end with remains of a faceted platform, bold flaking on other face, and a broad back that is well adapted for the hand and index finger. Signs of use on the cutting-edge.

9. Black flake, 3.5 in. by 2 in. of inferior quality, with thin crust. Bulb with faceted platform and bulbar cavity on the upper face, which is ridged longitudinally.

10. Splinter, 2.6 in. long, with triangular section, purplish with white splashes and specks of patina, and bulb at one end; quality as No. 4.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Spurrell does not give exact particulars of the height at which his working floor was found. He states that it sloped from 36 feet to 42 feet below the surface of the pit, and his diagram* may be taken to indicate a surface height of 70 feet Ordnance datum. This would give the floor a height of 28 feet to 34 feet Ordnance datum, which is almost identical with that of the Northfleet floor, 4 feet to 14 feet below the surface of 45 feet O.D., or 30 feet to 40 feet O.D. The latter series showed all stages of patina from black to white, through blue and bluish white, according to the depth and extent of the white film; whereas Mr. Spurrell's flints are exactly the same as the day they were struck off the nodule; and there are other grounds for treating the two series as distinct, and not contemporary. There may be some difference in the fauna; but Mr. Higgins' exhibit shows the typical mammoth fauna in the brick-earth, and Professor Boyd Dawkins found a skull of musk ox in Stoneham's pit, the site of Spurrell's discovery.

Reference to the illustrations will facilitate comparison with the Northfleet industry, which is represented by the bulk of the worked flints found in a corner of the Southfleet pit in connection with a deposit identified as Coombe Rock. That series has been studied in detail, and is found to be identical with specimens from the neighbourhood of Amiens, in the Somme Valley. Professor Commont has in more than one instance been successful in fitting the flake implement to its original tortoise-shaped core, thus putting the method of manufacture beyond all doubt; and from sufficient internal and external evidence, he attributes the industry to an early stage of the period named after Le Moustier.



FIG. 4.—
FLINT
FLAKE,
BUTT
BROKEN,
CRAYFORD.



FIG. 3.—
FLINT
FLAKE, BUTT
BROKEN,
CRAYFORD.

* *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, XXXVI (1880), 547; A. L. Leach gives some particulars, in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, XIX (1906), 141, and section opp. p. 100. For the shells and sections at Crayford see B. B. Woodward's paper in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, xi, 375-7.

A fine specimen of this particular type from Le Monstier cave itself is in the British Museum; and another, 5.9 in. long., not so perfect but still above the average, is here illustrated (Fig. 5), by kind permission of Miss Layard, who found it in a gravel pit near Bury St. Edmund's. Others have been found in river-gravel at Farnham, Surrey, and at Dunbridge, Hants,* proving that the Northfleet type is not a local or personal peculiarity. The distinctive features are an outline approaching the oval, broader at the bulbar end; the under face plain with an unusually large and prominent bulb, sometimes trimmed away, and a blunt butt curved by means of a number of facets. The trimming of the upper or convex face was finished before the implement was detached from the core, unless the outline proved to be irregular or the bulb too prominent. M. Commont has well explained the connection between the facetting and the enormous bulb of percussion,† and it may be inferred that the former was intentional and the latter an inseparable accident.

The theory is that the force of the blow detaching the flake from the core is dissipated over the entire platform or striking plane, so that when the latter is split up into several facets, the force is concentrated in a much smaller area, and



FIG. 5.—FLINT IMPLEMENT WITH FACETTED BUTT, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

produces a correspondingly large bulb immediately below the point of impact. The facetting would serve to shape the butt to the hand, getting rid of sharp angles and giving the desired solidity. Further details of the Northfleet industry may be found in *Archæologia*, LXII, Part ii, p. 515, and it only remains to emphasize the importance of Mr. Higgins' discovery. Though he has found no specimens of first-class workmanship—and such would not commonly be left among the debris of a workshop floor—his flakes are evidence enough of Le Moustier culture on the lower Thames during or before the deposition of the brick-earth of Crayford, and the Northfleet series is held to prove a similar occupa-

tion before the middle or 50-foot terrace was overwhelmed by an avalanche of half-frozen mud, now known as Coombe Rock. Geologically this is an important step forward, and while indicating the enormous antiquity of Le Moustier man, inspires the hope that further investigation will before long reveal the culture of those who lived on the still lower terrace of the Thames.

R. A. SMITH.

America: Archæology.

Archæology in America. By Miss A. C. Breton.

Breton.

Expeditions continue to be sent for the study of different parts of this **5** great field of exploration. Dr. K. Th. Preuss, of Berlin, started in September for Southern Colombia, where the curious ancient tombs and statues have recently attracted attention. In Mexico, the work of the International School of American Ethnology and Archæology progressed very satisfactorily during the season of 1912-13, under the direction of M. Georges Engerrand. The investigation of the stratification of the archæological remains was carried on in two places on a much larger scale than in the previous year, and a good deal of interesting linguistic material was

* *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, XXIV, 110.

† *L'industrie Moustérienne dans la région du Nord de la France*. (Congrès préhistorique de France. Beauvais, 1909, p. 115.)

also obtained. Professor A. M. Tozzer, of Harvard, is in charge for 1913-14, and hopes to continue the study of the stratification in the Valley of Mexico. The school needs further support, its total income for all salaries, student-fellowships, and research work being at present 2,000*l*.

Professor Max Uhle, an honorary fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has been chief of the Government Department of Ethnology and Archæology at Santiago, Chile, since 1912, and was in Northern Chile from May to September 1913, making excavations at several places. He writes:—

"Extremely interesting are the remains of a very ancient pre-pottery race near Coquimbo, of which Mr. Latcham has given so good a description, though I cannot confirm his view that the layers prove a later submersion below sea level. I also observed the unexpected great age of the well-painted pottery (similar in type to that of the Calchaqui), hitherto supposed to date from near the time of the Incas. From Caldera north to Antofagasta there are now scarcely any remains of the Changos along the coast. Fishermen have destroyed everything superficial, and anything still left could only be studied by taking a boat or motor launch during the summer season. The coast is too inhospitable for travelling with horses owing to the complete lack of all resources. A few individual Changos are still living, but they do not like to be called Changos, nor to be measured or photographed, and there seems to be no remnant of their language. Their ancient graves contain scarcely any pottery or artifacts and no textiles or wooden implements.

"Further north at Pichalo, a mile and a half from Pisagua, I found some ancient cemeteries on the slopes of the desert, waterless hills that fall steeply to the bay. Most of the graves had been already ransacked, but the excavations which I conducted in others made it possible to determine three different periods. One showed the proto-Nazca influence, with primitive textiles, fine knotted caps, highly developed basketry, and a very primitive style of burial. Deformation of the skull was already practised. Owing to the dry climate and the steepness of the slope (36 deg.) the artifacts and mummies are wonderfully preserved and thirty-five mummies were secured. The 'female' throwing-stick was the weapon used at this period. In another cemetery the influence of the monuments of Tiahuanaco is visible in the designs of some of the textiles. The poncho and the bow appear, and the manner of burial becomes less savage. A third burial-place has resemblances in the style of the mummies, and wooden and bone objects, to those of the Atacameños that I discovered at Calama. Pottery appears only with objects of the post-Tiahuanaco period, and painted pottery is still exceptional in that of the Atacameños. But near the same place were many fragments of good painted pottery, ornamented in a different style, and belonging perhaps to another culture. whose graves may have been destroyed by the construction of the modern town. This last culture exists also at Arica and Camarrones.

"At Pichalo I also excavated a cave, now about twenty metres above sea-level, although boulders on the floor show that at one time the sea entered. It appears to have been inhabited at several periods; the earliest remains indicate that the occupiers lived on algae, made ropes, and later some simple garments from the reeds of the Pisagua river. Three periods, with mummies, were represented in the stratification—those that I have called 'after proto-Nazca,' 'after Tiahuanaco,' and Atacameño. I am taking back forty-one cases of objects for the museum at Santiago and they will afford material for further study, whilst important facts may be brought out respecting the early inhabitants. Some of the mummy-packs contained a number of small stone chips, not worked according to the established standards, but evidently used as implements."

A. C. BRETON.

REVIEWS

Japan: Prehistory.

Munro.

Prehistoric Japan. By Neil Gordon Munro, M.D. Yokohama: 1911. 6
Edinburgh: W. Bryce, 54, Lothian Street.

Two distinct prehistoric cultures are met with in Japan, with traces of a third. The earliest of these is characterised by implements of a neolithic type, the relics being dug up from the soil or from shell-heaps; and the stone axes therein found are called "thunder axes." The implements are polished, finely chipped, or even roughly hewn; metallic objects are absent, except in very rare instances in which the sites are overlaid by relics of a later culture. Some implements have a spade-like shape. Records of the Sui Dynasty, of about the seventh century A.D., state that implements of stone were used for agriculture by the inhabitants of the Luchus, but agriculture has not been conclusively proved for the "neolithic" people of Japan. Stone arrow-heads of very varied form are common, stone spear-heads and stone bâtons also occur. The pottery is hand-made, in many grades, from rough brick to the finest terra-cotta (the latter in the upper layers), the finer grades being more common in north Japan; occasionally the primitive pottery is covered with a slip of finer clay. As a rule the pottery is imperfectly baked. Many of the vessels were made by the coiling process. Impressions of coarse textiles are common. The vessels are richly ornamented with moulded designs, incised patterns, and so forth; some of these, as Mr. T. A. Joyce (*Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*, Vol. XLII, "Miscellanea," p. 545) has pointed out, strangely recall the pottery fragments that have been unearthed in Collingwood Bay, Papua. The people of this period probably lived in light shelters during the six months of warm weather, and for the rest of the year in pit dwellings. Their food consisted largely of shell-fish and fish; among land animals the remains of boar and deer are most abundant; the vegetable food included walnuts, chestnuts, etc., probably the wild potato, arrowroot, and bracken were eaten, but as yet no grain has been discovered. Concerning the vexed question of the practice of cannibalism as suggested by the finding of broken human bones mingled with those of other animals, Dr. Munro says: "I think they can best be explained by the conclusion that anthropophagy had lingered on in a fitful and attenuated degree, perhaps associated with religious ritual, into the era which produced the neolithic shellmounds, but that general cannibalism had lapsed before their formation." The clay images afford evidence of the dress and methods of hair-dressing and tattooing; among other trinkets there is found for the first time the *magatama*, or curved jewel, a name possibly derived from *maga* (curved) and the archaic Japanese or Yamato word *tume* (a talon). The author agrees with D. Sato and S. Sato in recognising a similarity between the designs on the pottery of these early folk and the patterns of the Ainu, though Professor Tsuboi maintains that they are fundamentally different.

There is a type of pottery widely distributed from north to south which was not turned on a wheel; it is generally known as *Yayoi* style, but Dr. Munro proposes to call it *chukan*, or intermediate. The character of the paste varies, and resembles the finer grades of the primitive pottery rather than the sepulchral pottery of the Yamato; none of it attains the hardness of stoneware. It is often marked externally and sometimes internally with scored lines made by combs; there is little attempt at moulded decoration. In shape this pottery is said to approximate to the Malay. The total absence of the primitive pottery from Yamato tombs with the occasional presence of the intermediate is highly significant.

Indications exist that a bronze culture intervened in the south between the stone and iron phases. Bronze swords, halberds, and arrow-heads are found in the soil, as

well as bronze bells and moulds. These do not occur in sites of the stone culture, nor in Yamato tombs.

Japanese historians and archaeologists speak of a "Yamato race," at all events the "country of the Yamato," as mentioned in the Chinese records of the third century A.D., was the seat of a dominant authority in ancient Japan. The term may be retained with advantage to extend to the historic period proper, which opens about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The influx of the Yamato began between 1000 and 500 B.C. The main feature of this culture was iron, though in the earlier phases, probably before the formation of the great "dolmens," bronze implements were employed. The large oval bronze bells, which do not occur in Yamato tombs, are of similar design to those used in China during the Chou Dynasty (1122-225 B.C.). The Yamato swords are all of iron, but the bronze sword may have been in use at a period not far removed from the commencement of dolmen-building. Stone sarcophagi are very numerous, they have outlasted wooden coffins and outnumber the more fragile terra-cotta sarcophagi. Cists were made of stone slabs or of cobbles, and occasionally were excavated in the rock and covered with a single stone slab or several slabs. The true dolmen "is not commonly found. It may be questioned whether it is not rather the product of a special environment. . . . When we see in the north of the Kwanto dolmens of the most primitive construction, existing side by side with stone chambers of highly finished masonry, under circumstances which suggest contemporaneous construction, we may be assured that the type furnishes little or no criterion as to age." In the vast majority of cases they are orientated to the south. In his well-known memoir on "The Dolmens and Burial Mounds in Japan" (*Archæologia*, LV., 1897), Professor Gowland says: "The 'cromlech,' i.e., a huge, flattish stone resting on three stones set upright, of which we have so many examples in Great Britain, is not represented in Japan excepting where a group of dolmens has been long used as a quarry for building-stones" (p. 445). In common with other writers on Japanese archæology, Dr. Munro classes "under the 'dolmen' all stone chambers with megalithic roofs and portals"; the form may consist of (1) a simple chamber or gallery, (2) a chamber with a gallery, or (3) a series of chambers with a gallery. Some are elaborate and imposing constructions. "The dolmen, seldom found exposed in Japan, if we except the island of Iki, has originally been always covered by a mound." Cists and sarcophagi frequently occur in tumuli and occasionally in cairns of stones. The burial cave is generally a single chamber of oblong form with a vaulted or flattened ceiling. There is no evidence that objects buried in a grave were purposely broken. The great bulk of the pottery is hard earthenware (*iwaibe*), copied from Korean ware. Probably this was reserved for ceremonial or religious purposes, as several kinds of unglazed terra-cotta ware, presumably for everyday use, also occur. Sometimes the *iwaibe* is hard enough to be called stoneware. The vessels were always turned, most were not properly glazed, the decoration was simple and restrained, and practically destitute of high relief. The social life and certain aspects of the material culture of the Yamato is depicted in the *Kojih* and *Nihongi*. These books are of great value, as there has been no serious manipulation of the documents since the date of their original publication in the early part of the eighth century A.D.

Archæologists and ethnologists are under a deep debt of gratitude to Dr. Munro for the great labour and zeal he has bestowed on this book. It is a happy combination of original research and a gleanings of the investigations of native savants. For the first time it is possible for the European student to get a clear grasp of the details and problems of Japanese archæology. The book is profusely illustrated and, though some of its half-tone blocks are not quite so good as they might be, the

great majority of the illustrations show all the necessary detail, and it must have been no small task to take the photographs or to collect them from various sources. They cover in an admirable manner the whole field of the text. A. C. HADDON.

Africa: Linguistics.

Meinhof.

Die Sprachen der Hamiten. By Carl Meinhof. Hamburg Kolonial-institut 7
(Abhandl. Bd. IX), 1912. Pp. xvi + 256. Price 12 M.

Following in the footsteps of Westermann, who has endeavoured to set forth the characteristics of Soudanese (negro) languages and show their distribution, Meinhof now turns from the Bantu field, and in the present work discusses seven languages, Fula, Hausa, Schilb, Bedaue, Somali, Masai, and Nama (Hottentot), which he regards as Hamitic.

The title of the work at once arrests the attention as a somewhat curious one; the languages of the Hamites are obviously not necessarily the same thing as the Hamitic languages, though the author argues that in the cases he has chosen the terms are synonymous.

It is, however, clear that not only may a tribe of one linguistic family take over a language of an entirely alien type, but a language of one type may be so modified by contact with another type as to be in the end indistinguishable from it. To take an example from a different field, Akunakuna, on the Cross River, is, I think, undoubtedly a West-Soudanese language, but some dialects are adopting prefixes and indicating number by change of prefix, exactly like the Cross River languages such as Okuni, which have also assonance of the adjective, but not, in other respects, a syntax characteristic of Bantu. A second case from the same area is also instructive; I was recording a Yala vocabulary, but had not got far before its abnormal character struck me; for Yala is clearly a West-Soudanese language, yet my informant was indicating number by prefix change, and adjectives showed some tendency towards assonance; it turned out that Yala was the language of his mother, but not of his father, who was an Ekoi.

We must, therefore, everywhere reckon with contact metamorphosis, and with our present slight knowledge of many Soudanese and Hamitic languages, it seems premature to begin classifying them wholesale, as is necessary before maps of the kind appended to this volume can be produced. The controversy raised by Westermann's separation of Dinka and Bari shows how far we are from universal agreement.

Space does not permit me to give a general survey of this interesting volume, but one point may be suggested to the author; in Fula we find (a) suffixes as the oldest method of classifying nouns; (b) a prefix, perhaps *l*, which divided nouns into person- and thing-denoting; (c) the newest system, also a prefix, *n*, classifying them into small and great; of these, (b) is not quite universal; (c) which is, according to Meinhof, the germ of gender, is infrequent. If this is so, is it not possible that there may be pre- or proto-Hamitic languages without the third or even the second mode of classification?

N. W. T.

America, South.

Church.

Aborigines of South America. By the late Colonel George Earl Church. 8
London. Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1912.

Although this book has been edited with great care and judgment, it would have been very different had the author lived to complete it and to add more of the touches from his own observation and experience that here and there brighten the pages with actuality. It contains much raw material of excellent quality, the fruit of wide reading and research combined with perhaps unsurpassed personal

knowledge of races and localities of South America; the habitat and customs of almost all the known tribes between the Equator and Patagonia are mentioned, and there are full historical accounts of the Spanish period.

Colonel Church begins by describing the physical condition of South America as it must have been for many thousands of years, during the existence of the Pampean sea, the Mojos lake, and the Amazon sea. "These covered an aggregate area of about 1,115,000 square miles, separating the continent into two divisions, the Brazilian and Andean. The inhabitants of each must have had a distinctive ethnological development, for communication was barred by 400 miles of water. One land link alone, lying east and west between 17° and 19° South Latitude, connected the two parts and served as an inter-tribal bridge." At the same time a great lake, much larger than Lake Superior, occupied part of the Andean plateau. The present Lake Titicaca is not a tenth of the former size, and its desiccation still continues. "The north-east trade winds, after crossing the Guayanas and Northern Brazil, now beat themselves dry against the eastern flanks of the Andes, but when they were re-saturated from the Amazon sea and Mojos lake, and again from Titicaca, they must have carried sufficient moisture to fertilize not alone the Andean region, but, in connection with the Pampean sea, the great north-western deserts of Argentina, and the arid belt of the Pacific coast, thus making the whole of Peru, Bolivia, and the Atacama districts of Chile and Argentina a delightful and fruitful habitat."

The western portion of an attractive region, now forming the States of Paraná, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sal, Misiones and Paraguay appears to have been the cradle of the Caraio race, and their language is still spoken there in greatest purity. At the time of the Conquest they had spread over the greater part of that area and also the whole Atlantic slope of Brazil. The first Spaniards who met these people on the river Paraguay, found them with an abundance of food, including maize and other products of cultivation, domestic animals and birds, and also cotton for weaving. Ethnologists now call the Caraios "Tupi-Guarani," a misnomer, like the names given to many other tribes. The early missionaries heard the name Tupi commonly used, but it means "primarily, paternal uncle, and secondarily, companion and fellow-countryman." Guarani means "a great brave, a grand man," and wherever the Caraios went, they were treated as superiors by the other aborigines. Not only were they valiant in war; they had the maritime instinct, and in canoes which held eighty or one hundred warriors and provisions for a long voyage, they explored and traded along the coasts of Venezuela and Colombia, round the Gulf of Mexico, to Florida and the Antilles. They had certain leaders called Carabes, who were held in the greatest reverence as Pagés or Payes (sorcerers).

The physical characteristics of the Caraios vary considerably in different parts of the continent. The Guarani (Caraus) are described (p. 49) as round-headed, the face almost circular, nose and chin short, lips rather thin, eyebrows well-arched, and eyes small and expressive. They average in height about 5 feet 6 inches, but the women "could not be more massive, broad, and short." In chapters devoted to other regions we come on the Caraios again; in South-western Amazonia D'Orbigny found them as Guarayos, in the immense forests at about 17° S. Lat. There they are of such a light yellow colour that "there is little difference between them and a slightly brown white man." In character they are "the type of goodness, affability, frankness, and honesty," hospitable, good fathers and good husbands. Another Caraió tribe known as the Sirionos (p. 117) make bows 7 feet or 8 feet in length, and great strength is required to bend them. To do this the Indian lies on the ground, places both feet against the bow, and draws the cord with both hands, thus launching

the arrow with tremendous force. The Muras (p. 137) use bows nearly 9 feet long, bending them in the same way.

The Chiriguano, too, were Caraios or Cario, according to Suarez de Figueroa, who wrote in 1586. He said that Chiriguano meant *mestizo*—children of the Guarani by women of other Indian nations. They live in small villages a short distance apart, usually on high ground near streams. The houses are kept scrupulously clean, and contain cane bedsteads, a few *hamacs*, and a good supply of pots, water jugs, and huge jars of rough earthenware. Colonel Church relates that in 1872 he met a band of 200 Chiriguano warriors, and had nowhere seen on the western continent men of such fine physique and manly bearing, except perhaps among the Sioux. "*Cuña*, or woman, is a terrible appellation among them." It is a curious fact that this word was used a few years ago as an offensive epithet by the common little Mexican village boys, and sometimes by one man to another.

The Caraios grouped all the inland tribes not of their own race as Tapuy or Tapuya, meaning "those who fly the villages," and recent investigations show that these numerous tribes are related ethnographically and physically. They are a dolichocephalous people, and in colour, habits, ceremonies, and language differ widely from the Caraios. Many authors agree in describing their Mongol appearance. They were nomads without habitations or agricultural pursuits, except in rare instances, and are said to have held the whole coast from the mouth of the Plata to the Amazon, and 200 leagues up the latter, before the Caraios drove them inland.

South-western Amazonia, west of the upper Madeira and Guaporé, and south-east of the Madre de Dios, is one of the most interesting regions of South America, both geographically and ethnologically. A multitude of tribes has passed over it, leaving remnants which formed fresh combinations, to be the despair of the student of linguistics and of the Jesuit fathers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Padre Fernandez, writing in 1726, says there was an extraordinary variety of tongues, each group of cabins having an absolutely different and difficult language. At that time there was an endeavour to make all the Indians learn the Chiquito language, but the grammar was terribly difficult and the elaboration of the verbs was incredible. This is also the case with the verbs of the Cora in Mexico, described by Dr. Preuss, and those of the Déné, on which Père Morice has written.

The peculiar character of the Amazon basin is shown by the statement (p. 156), that a great area at a distance of more than 25 degrees of Latitude from the mouth of the river (about where the lines of 75° W. Long. and 5° S. Lat. intersect), still averages only 300 feet above sea-level. An interesting description is given of the expedition of Salinas Loyola in 1557 down the Santiago river, through the rapids of the Marañon to the Ucayali, and up that river more than 100 leagues to the Cocamas tribe, who had large, well-formed towns on the banks. The people were kindly, well-clad in cotton garments finely painted in elegant patterns, wore feathers and gold and silver ornaments, including plates on their breasts. They paid great respect to their chiefs, had food in abundance, and more beautiful earthenware than any ever seen. They occupied 70 leagues of the river, and 50 leagues beyond were the Pariaches; this was also a land of good towns on the river, with inhabitants of pleasant, intelligent appearance, who wore cotton cloth much painted and worked, and gold and silver ornaments brought from elsewhere, there being no precious metals in that country. Still further was another "province," where Salinas asked about Tcatara, of which he had been hearing. He was told that it was Cuzco of Peru, and Indians were brought who had been there and could describe that city. It was, however, impracticable to navigate further at that time, and he retraced his route.

In addition to the copious extracts from early writers, this valuable work is a mine of information on the customs, festivals, religion, and physical characteristics

of the various tribes, whose names appear on the accompanying map. A bibliography would be a desirable addition.

A. C. B.

Sardinia : Primitive Religion.

Pettazzoni.

La Religione Primitiva in Sardegna. By Raffaele Pettazzoni. Pp. 250, 1912.

9

The first part of this extremely interesting and suggestive book is devoted to the description of certain archaeological remains found in Sardinia, and the careful examination of all the texts of ancient writers that refer to these monuments and to the practices of the Sardinians. The second part discusses, from the comparative standpoint, the beliefs which the author deduces from these. The inhabitants, ancient and modern, of the Mediterranean basin and of North Africa, and those of other parts of the world, including Australia, come under consideration ; for the author lays stress on the similarity in the beliefs in a supreme being among the black-fellows of the Antipodes and the early Sardinians.

It is interesting to note that the Sardinians at the present day still heat water by dropping stones into it, as do the Australians ; unfortunately, we are not told whether wooden vessels are still in use in Sardinia. The comparison between the beliefs of the "proto-Sardinians" and certain tribes of North Africa is, however, of greater interest, as among them all the same Libyan [Hamitic] blood, or at least its influence, may be traced.

The principal features of the primitive Sardinian religion were the cult of the dead, associated with the practice of incubation, and a water cult, associated with ordeals, and belief in the curative power of water. Besides this there was the worship of a supreme deity, Sardus Pater. The "tombs of the giants" were group graves and were sacred to the spirits of dead heroes, the ancestors of the tribe. In these buildings the bodies lay crouched as in sleep, and in the semi-circular vestibule which led to these tombs the Sardinians slept, in order to communicate with the heroic dead. This incubation of the Sardinians, according to the author, had a direct healing effect, and was not a device to obtain a vision, as it was among the Greeks and the Nasamoneans of Northern Africa.

Solinus, who lived in the third century A.D., records that certain thermal springs have miraculous healing powers, especially with regard to the eyes and broken limbs ; further, that when a man suspected of theft washes his eyes in these springs, if he is innocent his sight improves, but if guilty he becomes blind. He also asserts that in the country where there are no springs the rain-water is stored in reservoirs. Now, certain circular-domed temples are found throughout Sardinia which Signor Pettazzoni associates with this water cult. Each has a tank sunk in the floor in which the sacred water was stored. These same temples were sacred to the high god Sardus Pater. In the vestibules tables have been found into which votive offerings were fixed. These are in the form of bronze figurines of animals and men, but most interesting of all are those which Signor Pettazzoni describes as *iperantropico*, i.e. human figures, each with two pairs of eyes and arms. The author does not consider these to be gods, or deified heroes, nor must they be regarded as monstrosities, but rather "as a simple abnormal accentuation of some human element, a hyperanthropy. "That is to say, that in them the abnormality is limited and subordinated to the normal. The limitation is quantitative, the number of extra elements is not unlimited ; "on the contrary, it is exactly double the normal (four eyes, four arms). The limitation is also qualitative, for the duplication is only applied to the eyes and arms "the rest of the figure is perfectly normal."

Referring to Solinus on the curative powers of the waters and effect of the ordeal, Signor Pettazzoni says :—

"This extraordinary increase in the power of sight, which was at the same time

a freedom from evils and a demonstration of innocence, this chief moment in the religious life of the Sardinians loaded with physical pain and moral anxiety, found its plastic expression in an ingenious form of primitive art and gave birth to hyperanthropic ideas.

"There is no doubt that each one of these *cernit clarius*. They are in fact figures of warriors, who, in the famous sanctuary in the heart of the island, amid the silence of the rocks, had implored grace of the divinity, offering as a votive gift their own images exalted by supernatural virtue."

It is suggested that a bronze figure of a woman with a child found near South Vittoria may be the votive offering of a woman tried for adultery. The idea is ingenious, but if the bronze figurines are to be regarded as the votive offerings of those who have undergone moral or physical suffering, especially of those who have suffered from their eyes or whose bones have been injured (*solidant ossa fracta*, *Solinus*) might we not expect the number of legs occasionally to be doubled with like significance?

By comparison with the Nasamoneans, the troglodyte Megabari, and the present-day Tuareg, Signor Pettazzoni traces the descent of the proto-Sardinians from a race who had settled along the north coast of Africa and spread northward into the Mediterranean islands. Their route is marked by dolmens, which are also found in the Western Sudan. Moreover, Signor Pettazzoni sees Mediterranean influence in the ordeals so commonly practised on the Guinea Coast.

In conclusion, I would point out that the head-dress of *Sardus Pater* on coins of the first century B.C. shows a certain resemblance to those of the Philistine captives at Medinet Habu. It must also be noted that in this work the word *animismo* is not used in the sense in which animism is generally understood in this country, but rather to signify a cult of the spirits of the dead.

B. Z. S.

PROCEEDINGS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIETIES.

The Mythic Society of Bangalore, South India, was founded in October, 1909, under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, with the object of stimulating interest in the History, Ethnology, and Religions of South India. Its *Quarterly Journal* has published papers dealing with "The History of South India," "India at the Dawn of the Christian Era," "Life in Ancient India at the Time of the Jataka Stories," "Numismatics, with Special Reference to South India," and "The History and Commerce of the Indian Ocean"; "Suggestions for the Study of Caste," "The Evil Eye," "Perungali Vettuvans," "Sraddhas," and "Funeral Ceremonies of the Vaishnava Brahmins"; "Serpent Worship," "The Original Idea of Sacrifice," "The Brahmanic Systems of Religion and Philosophy"; and notes on Public Festivals, Stone Barrows, Hook-swinging, Fire-walking, and kindred subjects. The *Journal* is illustrated with excellent plates and maps, and is issued quarterly, post free, at the extremely modest price of Rs. 3 (four shillings) per annum, a fee which covers membership also.

Local enterprise of this sort deserves encouragement. The more costly publications, which deal with all India, usually contain much material that is of little or no interest to the "man on the spot." The Mythic Society seeks to promote intensive local study and local specialisation. The journal may be obtained from the Hon. Treasurer, G. H. Krumbiegal, Esq., Lal Bagh, Bangalore, S. India.

Societies of this kind deserve all the support and encouragement which the Institute can give them, and are destined to play a useful and an important part in the collection of ethnological data.



A BACTRIAN BRONZE CEREMONIAL AXE.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Bactria : Bronze Age. With Plate B.

Read.

A Bactrian Bronze Ceremonial Axe. By Sir C. Hercules Read.

11

An example of a ceremonial (or perhaps votive) axe obtained in the N.W. Provinces of India, and recently added to the collections of the British Museum, is so remarkable from several points of view that it may serve a good purpose to bring it before the readers of MAN.

The design of the axe is singular, and a mere description could hardly convey a clear impression to the reader; the illustration will, however, supplement the inadequacy of the words. From the Plate it will be seen that the axe is entirely composed of the figures of three animals, a boar, a tiger, and an ibex. The cutting edge is formed of the back of the first, which is attacking the tiger, who is turning a remonstrant head while he grips with his fore paws the flanks of a crouching ibex, who is also "regardant." Below the bodies of the two last are the flanges that form the opening for the handle of the weapon, which did not pass through the axe, but was held in position by two rivets, the holes for which are clearly seen in the illustration. That it was never intended for active use is clear from the entire inadequacy of the edge. It is evident that the back of the boar could cut nothing, and that the maker had no intention that it should cut, for to grind or hammer the edge to a practicable state would entirely destroy the admirable modelling of the body of the boar. Hence the reasonable deduction that the object had a votive or ceremonial purpose. Our present very exiguous knowledge of the archæology of Afghanistan in the centuries preceding the Sassanian dynasty does not admit of any definite statement of the uses to which an object of this kind might be put, nor are we able to interpret the symbolism of the conjunction of these three animals.

The artist has shown no small amount of ingenuity in making the contours of the beasts serve his purpose while preserving the characters of their anatomy. The two faces are equally finished and complete, and are fully as satisfactory from the artistic standpoint as if the artist had had no end in view but to portray them as they stood. It would appear, however, from a comparison with other existing axes from the same region that the contour scene in the present specimen is a characteristic one. Some of these are figured in *Archæologia* (Soc. Antiq. Lond.), Vol. LVIII., page 1, where some unusual types of weapons are dealt with. Among these is one which illustrates the present example, and in some ways amplifies it. This is an axe from Kerman, in Persia, presented to the British Museum by Major P. M. Sykes. In this the animal forms are degraded and almost lost, but a second axe of the same find has the beasts standing free and well defined, though by no means of the artistic excellence of those on our present example.

After comparison with the Oxus treasure in the Museum, it seems to me highly probable that this is a specimen of the art of Bactria of about the time of Alexander. Further discoveries may render this attribution capable of greater precision, and such precision can be best attained by publication.

C. H. READ.

Egypt.

Murray.

Evidence for the Custom of Killing the King in Ancient Egypt
By M. A. Murray.

12

In Egypt there is no absolutely direct evidence, no definite statement in so many words, that the king was sacrificed, no actual representation in sculpture or painting of such a sacrifice. Yet there are many allusions, more or less clear, from literary sources—some early, some late—which, as I hope to prove, show the ceremonial survival of that ancient and barbarous usage.

Dr. Frazer deduced the practice of killing the king from literary sources, from legend, and from ceremonial survivals; a theory not at first received by all, but triumphantly confirmed in the end by Dr. Seligmann's discoveries among the Shilluks of the Nile Valley. In the same way we may follow the "converging lines of evidence" in ancient Egypt, and possess our souls in patience till the final confirmatory proof is found.

I have divided my subject into five parts: (1) the parallels in neighbouring countries; (2) the meaning of the name Osiris (the identification of the king with Osiris being already established); (3) the literary evidence from the Pyramid Texts, the Book of the Dead, and legends both Egyptian and Arab; (4) the representations in Art, i.e., the Sed-festival and the Drowned Men of Dendur; and (5) the modern survivals.

(1) For the parallels in neighbouring countries, Dr. Frazer's books are the great storehouse. He has shown that the custom of killing the king can be inferred in Greece (Athamas) and in Crete, and was known in Babylon, Syria, and Ethiopia. These countries either bordered on Egypt or were in close connection with her, so close that the Greeks themselves considered their own religion to be derived from the Egyptian. Under these circumstances it is not likely that Egypt alone would be exempt from a custom common among all her neighbours.

The case for human sacrifice in Egypt has been abundantly proved, in spite of Herodotus's indignant denial that so humane a people could be guilty of such blood-thirsty deeds.

The instance which bears most upon our subject is the sacrifice of harvest victims at Eileithiya (El Kab), the primitive kingdom of Upper Egypt. For the fundamental idea underlying the sacrifice of the king is the belief that in him the god of fertility is incarnate, and that on his health and strength the prosperity and welfare of his country are dependent. On the approach of old age, or at the end of a term of years, the king had to be put to death, in order that the deity might pass into a younger stronger body, and thus never suffer decay or degeneration. The actual method of sacrifice varies in different countries; but in many cases it is followed by dismemberment; the tearing of the body limb from limb in a savage and barbarous manner, the pieces being buried in the fields when the victim was human, being devoured by the worshippers when the victim was animal.

(2) *The Name of Osiris.*—In spite of Plutarch's sarcastic remarks on the dull souls and vulgar minds who identify Osiris with vegetation, it is only by applying this very theory to the cult of Osiris that we are able to understand the many aspects of this god. I have shown in my study of Osiris in *The Osireion at Abydos* that the king is the incarnate god, that Osiris is the king and the king is Osiris: in other words, that the spirit of fertility is incarnate in the king. This view is absolutely confirmed by Professor Erman's researches on the meaning of the name Osiris.* The hieroglyphs which form the name are a throne and a human eye; the same throne which appears in the name of Isis. The actual reading of this sign is S with a preceding and succeeding vowel; the following vowel is certainly e, the preceding vowel appears to vary, probably according to rules of pronunciation. Thus in the name, "Isis," it would be Isé; in Osiris Usé. The eye reads Yr in this connection Yri; the throne and the eye together reading Usiri. The meaning of Yr is "To do, to make, to occupy"; in the participle, "the doer, the maker, the occupier." Thus we get the meaning of the names, Isis or Isé, "She of the throne," "the throne-woman"; Osiris, or Usiri, "the occupier of the throne," in other words the king.

* *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1909, p. 92.

Having reached this point of the identification of the king with the great god of Egypt, we turn to the legends of the death of Osiris. The consecutive accounts are those of Diodorus and Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*). In Plutarch's dramatic story Osiris was treacherously murdered by being shut up in a wooden chest, which was then thrown into the Nile; Diodorus does not mention the manner of death. Plutarch drags in, after the murder, an episode which has nothing to do with the story of Osiris, but expresses the fact that an interval elapsed between the death and the next event, which was the tearing of the body in pieces and the scattering of them broadcast over Egypt, i.e., over the cultivated land. Isis searched for the fragments, collecting and joining them together, and thus caused Osiris to rise again.

There are two special points to notice: first, that Osiris practically met his death in the water; second, the dismemberment of the body.

(3) *The Literary Evidence*.—What little literary evidence remains in Egyptian records concerning the death of Osiris, points to its having been effected by water. It is unfortunately of late date.

In a stela of the Persian period, about the 6th or 5th century B.C. (now in the British Museum), the cemetery of Memphis is said to have been called *Ankh-Taui*, "Life of the Two Lands" (the name is significant) "because of the fact that "Osiris was drowned in its waters."* In another late text, the so-called Lamentations of Isis, the goddess describes her journey in search of Osiris, "I have traversed "the seas to the confines of the earth, seeking the place where my lord is . . . "I have sought him who is in the water; I have found the Drowned One."

In the legend, Menes, the first historic king of Egypt, was killed by a hippopotamus according to Manetho, carried into safety by a crocodile according to Diodorus. Here we appear to have a faint echo of the sacrifice of the primitive kings by water; the water itself being symbolised by one of the destructive water-beasts.

For dismemberment there is much evidence from literary sources; a few quotations will suffice. In the earliest hieroglyphic texts, those inscribed inside the pyramids of the 6th dynasty kings, dismemberment is continually mentioned. In the inscription of Unas, the earliest, there is an invocation to various goddesses, "O Neith, O Ani, O Urt-hekau, O Urt, O Nesert, cause that Unas be cut in "pieces as thou (fem.) art cut in pieces." In the inscriptions of Teta and Pepy, "O Teta, thou hast received thy head, thou hast collected thy bones, thou hast "united thy limbs." And of a goddess it is said "She gives to thee thy head, "she unites for thee thy bones, she joins for thee thy limbs, she brings to thee "thy heart in thy body." "O Pepy Neferkara, leader of the gods, equipped as a "god, he has gathered his bones like Osiris."

Again in the Book of the Dead the religious texts in use from the 18th to the 26th dynasties there occur the words, "On the night of the Great Mystery, "the thigh, and the head, and the backbone, and the leg of Unnefer are on the "coffin."



"I am a prince, son of a prince, fire, son of fire; to whom was given his "head after it had been cut off" (ch. 43); the rest of this chapter is occupied with the identification of the deceased with Osiris, for at this time all the dead were identified with the god of the dead. Therefore the dismemberment, of which the

* *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1901, p. 41.

Book of the Dead constantly speaks, is probably an echo of that early time when Osiris in the person of the king was torn in pieces, and the fragments scattered broadcast.

The Arab legends of the ancient kings of Egypt mention the disappearance of two kings, Kalkoum ben Khariba, and Misrâm ben Naqrâush, the latter being the seventh in a direct line from Adam. These legends would appear to preserve the ancient tradition of the divine spirit leaving the world.

(4) We now come to the representations in Art. It must be remembered that in many countries the actual killing of the king was, as civilisation advanced, often not enforced. If a human victim were required, the king's place might be taken by a volunteer, or a criminal might be pressed into the service. Sometimes a religious ceremonial took the place of the actual sacrifice; and sometimes the religious ceremonial and the sacrifice of the substitute might be contemporary. Dr. Frazer has collected so many instances all over the world that I need not do more than mention this and pass on to the examples in ancient Egypt.

First, then, for the human substitute. Here we get no help from art till Roman times. The temple of Dendur in Nubia, built under Augustus, is dedicated to two deified men, named respectively Petese and Pi-hor, who met their death by drowning. There are two significant facts which are brought out clearly in the sculptured reliefs. In the scenes of the worship the deified men are represented, sometimes with the insignia of royalty, sometimes with the insignia of Osiris. Where they are shown as kings the inscription speaks of them as "The Drowned"; where they are represented as Osiris they are called P-shai, or Agathodaimon. We can, I think, only conclude that these men were sacrificed as kings, as the incarnations of Osiris, the spirit of fertility.

The ceremonial is, perhaps, less easy of proof. The great royal ceremony, the one celebrated with most pomp and circumstance was not the coronation as one might expect, but the Sed-festival. The meaning of the Sed-festival has been greatly obscured by the earlier Egyptologists, who looked upon it as purely calendrical, occurring every thirty years when the shifting calendar had lost a week. This theory being proved untenable, another theory was advanced that it was the thirtieth anniversary of the king's accession; and this theory in a modified form is still held by many Egyptologists, the Sed-festival being considered by them as the thirtieth anniversary of the king's appointment as crown prince. It is, however, worth noting that almost every king who erected temples or decorated them on any large scale, represented himself in the Sed-festival (and in cases where he cannot have had thirty years for heir and king), or that Rameses II. had six Sed-festivals.

The points to be observed in scenes of the Sed-festival are these: (1) the king is the principal figure, always represented as Osiris; (2) before him is carried the figure of Up-uaut, the Opener of the Ways, the Jackal-god of Siut who appears to have been a god of death; (3) the royal daughter, seated in a litter, is the most important figure after the king; (4) and in most instances there are one or more running or dancing men.

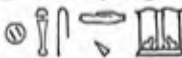
This presence of the royal daughter and the running men is due to the scene being one of marriage. We must bear in mind that the throne of Egypt went in the female line. This is very clear wherever we have sufficient data to enable us to trace genealogies with any accuracy. The king was not necessarily royal, but he became the legal ruler by marriage with the heiress. To put it shortly, the queen was queen by right of birth, the king was king by right of marriage. We can see, then, that the marriage of the queen's daughter, the princess who was the heiress, was an event of the utmost importance. The dancing men were probably the suitors for her hand; but whether the dance was a contest before marriage or


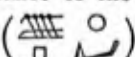
a fertility dance after marriage is uncertain. From the fact that in the representation of the Sed-festival of the XIIth dynasty (found by Professor Petrie at Memphis), the king dances alone before Min, the god of generation, it would seem to be a fertility dance to promote the increase and welfare of the crops, animals, and people of his kingdom.

The figure on the throne is evidently that of the king, the reigning king. On the mace-head of Narmer, the earliest representation of the Sed-festival, the king is on a throne under a canopy, he holds the insignia of Osiris, and he is clothed in the long tight-fitting robe which is characteristic of the mummiform Osiris. He is essentially Osiris, the Occupier of the Throne. We can hardly suppose that he is represented here merely as blessing the union of the princess—who is perhaps not his own daughter—with his successor. On the contrary, the grim idea is forced upon us that the appointment of the new king was coincident with the death of the old, and that in the Sed-festival we have the two events combined in one great ceremony.

Taking this view of the Sed-festival we obtain an explanation of some of the obscure points concerning it. The key to some of these puzzles is to my mind the descent in the female line. If the king ruled only by right of marriage with the heiress, what took place if she died first? was he put to death? did he abdicate? And as the mortality of women in childbirth has always been great, we can imagine that this difficulty must have constantly presented itself. One solution was the marriage of the king with the next heiress; and this is apparently what happened to Ramses II. His six Sed-festivals probably represent six marriages; we know for certain that he was married four times; first to a lady, probably his sister, and then to three of his daughters in succession. Another solution of the difficulty appears to have been arrived at in the XIIth dynasty in the numerous co-regencies which occur at that period.

But the Sed-festival is only concerned secondarily with the princess; its primary reason, its principal figure, is the Osirified king, before whom is borne in procession the Jackal-god of death. This combination points to the original meaning of the ceremony, the sacrifice of the king as the incarnate deity of fertility.

This aspect of the Sed-festival is borne out by the inscription on the obelisk of Senusert I at Heliopolis, which was erected to commemorate his Sed-festival. The phrasing is very significant. After the titles and names of the king come the words  *sp tpi sd-hb* (and this is the important piece)

 *yr-f dy ankh zt.* Taking this last phrase as a temporal clause, which from its position it might well be, and translating *yr* as the uninflected passive, the whole sentence would read, "The first time of the Sed-festival, when he is made (to be) gifted with life for ever." The inscriptions also on the scenes of Osorkon's Sed-festival at Bubastis carry on the same idea (I quote from Breasted's translation), "the appearance of the king in the temple of Amon and the assumption of the protection () of the Two Lands by the king, 'the protection of the sacred women of the house of Amon, and the protection of all the women of his city.'" The inscription seems to me to show clearly that the object of the festival was the promotion of fertility. If, as I suppose, the ceremony was also a substitute for the actual sacrifice, a renewing of the divine spirit within the king, we should expect its periodical occurrence; and this may account for the fact that in quite late times it certainly does seem to occur at definite intervals.

The Arab legend given by Maqrizi is perhaps an echo from ancient times, containing the tradition not only of the Sed-festival but also of the still earlier and more savage ceremony of the actual sacrifice of the king. "Misrâm, son of Naqrânsh, "disappeared from the eyes of men for thirty years. He then appeared upon a throne enriched with all manner of ornaments, and in an alarming array, which filled all hearts with terror; his subjects prostrated themselves before him and adored him. Misrâm caused a feast to be prepared for them, and they ate and drank; after which he ordered them to return to their homes and was never seen again."*

In connection with some of the ceremonies of the Sed-festival, I must mention in passing the curious object to which Professor Petrie has called attention in the representation of the Sed-festival of the XIIth dynasty found at Memphis. In the scenes of a later period this object is represented as a scorpion (or at any rate it is often so drawn by the modern copyist). But in the XIIth dynasty it is undoubtedly the upper part of a headless human body. Professor Petrie sees in it the remains, the actual dried body, of a primitive king, probably one who was sacrificed; and it is certainly significant that in later representations the arms are decorated with the "Ankh" the sign of life, that it is supported on the emblem of long duration of life, and that it occurs in connection with the emblem of Osiris. The work I have already done with Dr. Seligmann on this strange figure leads me to suppose that Professor Petrie is right, but as yet I have no actual proofs to offer; for the subject still requires a great amount of careful study.

(5) We now come to the survivals in modern times. I need hardly enlarge on the sacrifice of the Shilluk kings. In some ways the Shilluk religion appears to retain traces of the ancient Egyptian religion; whether derived from Egypt through the priests of Ethiopia, or whether it is part of the same primitive religion still preserved down to our own times it is not yet possible to say. But the sacrifice of the Shilluk king is proof positive that the natives of the Nile Valley believed the king to be the incarnate deity, the author of all life and fertility.

The extraordinary reverence in which the modern Egyptian, democratic as all Mahomedans are, holds the Khedive, is perhaps the remains of the old belief in the divinity of the Pharaoh.

But the most striking survival is one witnessed by Klunzinger in 1867 or thereabouts. On the Coptic New Year's Day, the day of High Nile, every town and village chose for itself a Lord of Misrule, whom they called Abu Nerûs, Father of the New Year. For three days he was vested with supreme power, and for those three days he was dressed in a tall cap, a long beard made of flax, and a peculiarly shaped garment, and he carried a sceptre in his hand. This description irresistibly reminds one of the figures of Osiris. At the end of three days he was condemned to die, and was actually set on fire, but was always allowed to escape, though his clothes, the insignia of his royal office, were consumed by the flames. In this ceremony we have the last survival of the custom of killing the king in Egypt.

I will now run over very shortly the gradual growth of our knowledge of this subject. The beginning of this knowledge dates back to the translation of the Greek inscription on the Rosetta Stone, where the cycle of thirty years is mentioned (*κυρίου τριακονταετηριδων*). Later it was suggested—and the suggestion was accepted for many years—that the festival was the thirtieth anniversary of the king's accession; in 1898 this theory, being found inadequate, Sethe brought forward a good deal of evidence to prove it the thirtieth anniversary of the king's appointment as crown prince.† This, however, does not cover the fact that Thothmes I. had a

* Maqrizi, pt. II., ch. 2, Bouriant, *Mission Archéologique Française*, XVII.

† *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 1898, 64, note 3.

seduction of a chief's wife is always something to be proud of, a pious wish is expressed for its accomplishment. A husband should choose a wife of the same class and tribe as himself.

No. 1.

wanni malami ya che abiinda ya sa mata ta kan yi farraka
Certain priest he said "Thing which it causes woman she does commit adultery
 sabboda da akahaifeta tana shan mamman* uwanta har
because since there has been born her she drinks (from) breasts of mother her until
 ta yi wayo wu(r)rin uwan shi ya sa ta ta yi farraka
she makes cunning with† mother her, this it causes her she commits adultery."
 wanni kuwa ya che aa anahaifuansu da kirsu derri
Another, however, he said "No, no, there is being born them in deceit, hundred
 da daya kirsansu shi kuwa ya che aa sabboda
and one (are) wives their." He however (the first) he said "No, no, because of
 shan mamma
suckling."

da akahaife wota yarmache da yin kukanta sai
When there had been born another child-woman, on making of cry her, then
 malami wanda ya fara magauna ya che adauko ta adaura ma-su
priest who he commenced argument, he said to bring her to tie to them
 aure sai akache to da akawanke ta
marriage (knot). So it was said "Agreed." When there had been washed her
 achikkin kwotaniya akadaura ma-ta aure anaba ta
in basin, there was tied to her marriage (knot). There was given her
 nonon akwiya har ta yi wayo da ta yi wayo
milk of goat until she began to understand. After she had begun to understand
 ta yi girrima har ta zamma buduruwa har ya sau
she grew big until she became maiden (fit for marriage), at last he knew
 ta mache
her (as) wife.

sai dan sa(r)rikin ga(r)ri ya ji labari akache ga wauni malami ya
Now son of chief of city he heard news, it was said "See certain priest he
 ajje yariniya a-giddansa tunda haifuwanta ya che ba zata yi
has kept girl in house his ever since birth her, he said not she will commit
 farraka ba sai dan sa(r)riki ya che to ni zai yi farraka da
adultery not. Then son of chief he said "Well, I, I will commit adultery with
 ita sai dan sa(r)riki ya hau doki ya hadda kayan addo
her." So son of chief he mounted horse, he heaped on things of adornment
 ya hadda kayan addo sai ya zo ya bi bayan gidda
(caparisons) he put on caparisons, then he came, he went to back of compound.
 da ya bi bayan gidda sai ya waso goro ashirin achikki
When he had come to back of compound, then he threw kola-nuts twenty inside.
 Sai ta tsintsi ita yariniya ta chainye ta boye kirsu
So she picked (them up), she, girl, she ate (some) she hid (remainder). Guile
 ta fara fitta ke nan
it began to appear (thus it) was.‡

* Na, -n, and -r all mean "of."

† i.e., "has begun to understand, being taught by her mother." The usual meaning of yi is "make," but there are many others, e.g. "begin."

‡ If the woman accepts the kola-nuts, it is a sign that she is willing to receive the person who has given them. If an intermediary is employed, the girl hands a nut or two back to be given to the sender as a sign of assent.

Sai dan sa(r)riki ya wuche sai da akakwana u(k)ku
Then son of chief he went away. But when there had (passed) days three,
 kuma ya komo da ya komo ya sakye wason goro
however, he returned. When he had returned, he repeated throwing of kolas
 achikkin gidida sai ta che wanda ya waso goron nan sai na gan
in compound. Then she said "Who he threw kolas these, surely I will see
 shi yau sai ta ku(l)la zenne ta ku(l)la zenne har ashirin ta
him to-day." So she tied together cloths, she tied together cloths even twenty, she
 jefa a-katanga sai ta kama zenne sai ta hau sai ta ga
threw (one end) on wall, then she gripped cloths and she climbed. So she saw
 dan sa(r)riki sai ta che a gobe da malam ya teffi masallache
son of chief. Then she said "Ah, to-morrow when priest he has gone mosque,
 ka zo sai dan sa(r)riki ya che to
you come." And son of chief he said "Very well."

sai azzuba ya zo kirran salla nafari malam ya
When early morning it came (the time of) calling of prayer first, priest he
 teffi masallache ya hadda ma doki kaya da . ya
went mosque, (and so son of chief) he put on horse caparisons. When he
 waso goro ta sa(n)ni shi ne sai ta kama zenne ta hau
had thrown kolas, she knew he (it) was. So she gripped cloths, she climbed
 katanga sai ta che mi-shi shi shiggo sai ya che a duk da
wall, and she said to him he should enter. Then he said "What! both with
 doki sai ta che i sai dan sa(r)riki ya shigga har tsakkan
horse?" And she said "Yes." So son of chief he entered even middle of
 gidida sai ta che to ka sauka da ya sauka
compound. Then she said "Now you dismount." When he had dismounted,
 akadauri doki atsakkar gidida shi kuwa ya shigga da(i)kiinta
there was tied up horse in middle of compound, he, however, he entered hut her,
 yana farraka da ita sai giddan malami duk ya haske da
he was (committing) adultery with her. Lo! house of priest whole it shone with
 kayan addon dokin dan sa(r)riki
caparisons of horse of son of chief.

sai malam ya komo ya ga kofaton doki har kofan
Now priest, he returned, he saw hoof(marks) of horse up to door of
 zaure daya har kofan zaure nabiyu har nau(k)ku ya leka
entrance-porch one, up to door of entrance-porch second, up to third. He peered,
 ya ga gidida duka ya haske da kayan doki sai ya ga doki
he saw compound whole it shone with caparisons of horse. Then he saw horse
 atsakkar gidida yana tabariya sai dan sa(r)riki gabbanshi
in middle of compound, he was prancing. Now son of chief, breast (heart) his
 ya fadi ya ji tsoro ye che enna tsimi enna dubara ita ta che
it fell, he felt fear, he said "Where (is) cunning, where (is) plan?" She, she said
 opp achikkin kirsana derri da daya ber en yi ma-sa rabbiu gu(d)da daya
"Poof, amongst wiles my hundred and one, let me do to him half of unit one."
 sai ta fitta buf dagga da(i)kiinta che malam ga bayanka
Then she bounded out "boof" from hut the, she said, "Priest, see behind you"
 sa(r)riki ya aiko ma-ka da sa(d)dakan doki ba ka koma ka tara
chief he sent to you present of horse, (will) not you go back, you assemble
 malami ka je ka yi mi-shi aduwa sai malami ya che hakkanan ne
priests, you go, you do to him homage?" And priest he said "So is (it)

* After you had gone.

kuwa hakkanan ne kuwa sai ya koma baya da ya fitta sai ta really? so is (it) really?" So he went back. When he had gone, then she che da dan sa(r)riki ka fitta ka hau dokiuka ka teffi said to son of chief, "You go outside, you mount horse your, you go away." da fittanshi sai ta dauke tsintsiya ta share kafaton doki On going out his, then she took broom, she swept hoof(marks) of horse, inda ya yi gu(r)ribi ta zuba da kura sai gun ya chikka wherever it had made hole she threw in dust until hole it filled up.

sai malami suka taru suka teffi wu(r)rin sa(r)riki ya che Now priests they assembled, they went presence of chief. He (priest) said muka zo mu yi ma-ka aduwa ne ya che bayanda na teffi "We have come, we may do to you homage (it) is." He said "After that I went masallachi ka aiko mi-mi da sa(d)dakan doki angarima duk da kayanshi na mosque, you sent to me present of horse, charger, all with caparisons his of sarauta na gode ma-ka sa(r)riki ya che ni kuma sai malami ya che rank. I (give) thanks to you." Chief he said "I—?" And priest he said opp. kai manna ai doki yana nan atsakkan gidda sai "What, you, certainly, surely horse he is there in middle of compound." Then sa(r)riki ya che ni ban yerda ba na sa ka da fadawa su bi chief he said "I not I agree not, I will put you with attendants, they follow ka su zo su ga doki malami da fadawa da suka zo gidda you they go, they see horse." Priests and attendants when they had come house, ko kafaton doki babu sai ya shigga gidda ya kirra yariniya ya che even hoof (print) of horse not. Then he entered house, he called girl, he said ke enna dokin da na berri atsakkan gidda sai yariniya ta "You, where horse that I left in middle of compound?" And girl she kama kai ta che wayo malami ya hanka sai ta che du allah ku clasped head, she said "Alas! priest he raves." Then she said "By God you, do kun ga kafaton doki a-gidda sai suka che a a sai malam you see hoof (prints) of horse in house?" And they said "No, no." Then priest ya che kai yanzu yanzu na ber doki nan sai fadawa suka che ai he said "Ah! now, now, I left horse here." Then attendants they said "Surely kama malam akai shi wu(r)rin sa(r)riki ya hanka seize priest bring him presence of chief, he raves."

sai akakirra yariniya a-wu(r)rin sa(r)riki sa(r)riki ya tambaye But there was summoned girl to presence of chief, chief he asked ta ya che zenchen nan na malam gaskiya ne ko ya yi ka(r)riya sai ta che her, he said "Tale this of priest, truth is or he tells lie?" And she said gaskiya ne abin da ya su na yi mi-shi hakkanan don ya yi "Truth is, thing which it caused I did to him thus, because he made gardamma anche anahaifuwam mu da kirsu ta che disagreement (when) it was said there is being born us in deceit." She said saboda shi na nuna ma-su ana haifuwam mu da shi "On account of it I proved to them there is being born us in it."*

sai malam ya che to ya tuba sai sa(r)riki ya ber shi suka Then priest he said oh, he repented. So chief he released him. They teffi gidda suka zamma tana farrakanta abinta went home, they lived, she was (committing) adultery her unmolested.

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

* The girl did not agree with the mother's milk theory.

REVIEWS.

Germany: Archæology.

Schmidt.

Die diluviale Vorzeit Deutschlands. Von R. R. Schmidt (archäologischer Teil), unter Mitwirkung von E. Koken (geologischer Teil) und A. Schliz (anthropologischer Teil), mit 50 Tafeln, 140 Text-figuren und 2 Tabellen. Stuttgart, 1912. 14

A common objection to the dominant palæolithic system has been the absence of proof that it applied anywhere but in France. Excessive caution, bordering on insular prejudice, has stood in the way of our full recognition of Continental results, although for at least a part of the period in question Britain was one with France, and conditions were approximately the same over the large cretaceous area of northern France and south-east England. Reactionary tendencies of this kind will be checked by the appearance of Dr. Schmidt's work on the palæolithic period in Germany, where the sequence established in France has now been verified, at least in the south-west.

These two handsome volumes (for the plates are best bound separately) are inspired by the author's own discoveries at Sirgenstein and Ofnet, both sites being roughly half-way between Stuttgart and Augsburg; and they more than realise the student's patient expectation of a comprehensive work on the early Stone Age of Germany. All but the very early periods are here represented on a scale that throws into relief the characteristics of the various stages of culture now generally recognised in the older Stone Age, and by a happy thought a few plates representing the main types are indicated for the benefit of the beginner on p. iv immediately before the plates. Though somewhat cumbersome, the elaborate table at the end of the text, with the fauna and culture of each period and its relation to the glaciations, can be highly recommended, though a rival system has been championed in several quarters, and finality is not yet reached. The following table represents in outline the views upheld by the three authors, following in principle the dominant school in France:—

GLACIATIONS (PENCK AND BRÜCKNER).	FRANCE AND GERMANY.	SCANDINAVIA.
Post-Daun -	Campigny -	Litorina-Tapes: Shell-mounds.
Daun stage -	Mas d'Azil and earliest neolitic.	Ancylus: Maglemose.
Gschnitz stage -	Late La Madeleine -	Yoldia period.
Bühl stage -	Early to mid La Madeleine (upper rodent bed).	Retreat of Baltic ice-sheet.
Aachen oscillation -	Solutré and Aurignac -	Wanting.
Würm glaciation -	Le Moustier -	Wanting.
Riss-Würm interglacial	St. Acheul and Chelles -	Wanting.

Traces of the Chelles culture have not yet been found in Germany, but the *Elephas antiquus* fauna of France lasted through the St. Acheul period in Germany associated in part with the mammoth, while from Le Moustier to La Madeleine inclusive an arctic-alpine fauna persisted. Attention should also be drawn to the inclusion of the period of Le Moustier in the early palæolithic division, and the beginning of the later with Aurignac. Except for the absence of Chelles and late Solutré types the German series is practically identical with that generally accepted for France; but it must be borne in mind that the German evidence is more or less confined to the south-west and the upper Rhine. The map opposite p. 116 (plate A) shows the periods represented on the various sites, which are treated in four groups:—

- (i) Suabia and S. Germany (Heidelberg to Munich).
- (ii) S.W. Germany (Metz to Basel).
- (iii) Rhine and Westphalia (Wiesbaden to Düsseldorf).
- (iv) N. Germany (Brunswick to Weimar).

Excursions in district (i) were organised for the Prehistoric Congress at Tübingen in 1911, and the section at Sirgenstein was a most impressive sight. On the terrace of the cave, 120 feet above the stream which joins the Danube at Ulm, an oblong pit had been sunk, and in little over five feet it was possible to trace a vertical succession from Le Moustier to La Madeleine, both included. Such a result involved much patient work on the part of Dr. Schmidt and his colleagues and may appear incredible to those unfamiliar with recent cave-research. Besides the culture-levels, each with its typical implements, were two thin layers of rodents' bones in some places without matrix or admixture—one following Le Moustier and the other corresponding to early La Madeleine. In the former the dominant animal was the N. American lemming (*Myodes obensis*); in the latter, that species was outnumbered by the banded species (*M. torquatus*), and that in turn gave place to a species of pika (*Lagomys pusillus*). The lemmings indicate a climate similar to that of the far north of Russia to-day; but as the view here taken is that the cold continued throughout the Cave-period it might be thought that rodent-beds could occur at any level. That they mark a considerable fall in the temperature at two definite points in the sequence is, however, practically proved by the occurrence of rodent-beds elsewhere in Germany at corresponding levels, at Wildscheuer and Ofnet. The latter site is of extreme interest to the anthropologist, as it yielded no less than thirty-three human skulls in two groups, including those of nine women and twenty children. These cave-dwellers of the Mas d'Azil stage, immediately after La Madeleine, had been decapitated not by their enemies, but solely for ceremonial burial, the skulls being all turned towards the west and carefully arranged with beads and other funeral furniture. The date is fixed by the stratification and the inclusion of pygmy flints, but the skulls were not all buried at one time, fresh additions to the groups having been made in concentric rings. Most are brachycephalic, with two varieties of calvaria (double-circle and pear-shape, corresponding to the Grenelle and lake-dwelling types respectively); five are dolichocephalic, and eight mesocephalic. Further analysis shows that they belong to a population descended from two distinct races, some of the subjects reverting to type.

It would be ungracious to find fault with this imposing work on the very ground of its magnificence; but, in the first place, the most advanced work on such a subject must presently be out of date, and, secondly, the necessarily high price puts it beyond the reach of most students who cannot borrow it from a library. Its perusal cannot fail to have a steadying and inspiring effect, for it is a striking confirmation of the current system, and shows what might be done with the much richer material in this country. The authors know as well as anyone that many of the problems they treat so fully are matters of controversy; and it is perhaps a wise policy to take a strong line instead of presenting various views and leaving the reader to choose between them. The only objection is that one is liable to take for granted what is still under discussion. For instance, it is asserted that Mesvin is probably the oldest human industry. Dr. Rutot has strong views as to the date of that industry, and certainly does not regard it as the earliest known; and Dr. Schmidt states that no implementiferous deposits that exclude the possibility of a natural origin for eoliths have yet been found. Again a matter of opinion, not to mention the possibility of man's presence in Tertiary deposits. The loess question once more is not finally settled, though recent research has brought it nearer solution; and in connection with Achenheim it may be observed that fig. 5 of Pl. xxvii, assigned to St. Acheul II., looks much like the Northfleet type, also found in the Somme valley and assigned to early Le Moustier. Among sites for the Mas d'Azil type of harpoon occurs *Écosse*: why not *Schottland*? The specimens from Oban are well known and others have recently been found in Scotland.

Among other statements open to question may be mentioned two at the end of the text, in Dr. Schmidt's lucid summary of palæolithic chronology and its relation to the antiquity of man. "Very few open-air stations of Le Moustier or La Madeleine" "date are known," and "the Neandertal type represents the old palæolithic culture"—but several open-air sites with Le Moustier flints have recently been noticed in France; and there are surface finds of both dates in England, while the champions of Galley Hill man will deny the second dictum with considerable vigour. Though all will recognise the ability, the general accuracy and enterprise of the authors, and will be grateful for a handsome addition to Stone Age literature, the thin soft paper of the text will prove a mistake: though a welcome relief from the usual shiny surface, it will not withstand ordinary wear and tear.

As German prehistoric books are seldom seen in this country, and the language itself is a difficulty, it seems advisable to append a short list of technical terms with their French and English equivalents, to obviate a fruitless search in dictionaries:—

FÄUSTEL, *coup-de-poing*, hand-axe.

SPITZMANDELFÖRMIGER FÄUSTEL, *ficron*, long-pointed hand-axe.

SCHOLLENFORM, *limande*, dab-fish type.

SCHABER, *racloir*, side-scraper.

KRATZER, *grattoir*, end-scraper.

KLINGENKRATZER, *grattoir sur lame*, end-scraper on blade.

KIELKRATZER, *grattoir caréné*, keeled plane or cone.

STICHEL, *burin*, graving-tool, graver.

ECKSTICHEL, *burin d'angle*, angle-graver with short slice.

KANTENSTICHEL, *burin latéral*, angle-graver with long slice.

STIELSPITZE, *pointe de la Font Robert*, tanged point.

KERBSPITZE, *pointe à cran*, shouldered point.

KANNELIERRETUSCHE, *retouche lamellaire*, fluting.

DORSALRETUSCHE, *à dos abattu*, battered back.

R. A. S.

Congo.

Weeks.

Among Congo Cannibals: Experiences, Impressions, and Adventures during a Thirty Years' Sojourn amongst the Boloki and other Congo Tribes, with a Description of their Curious Habits, Customs, Religion, and Laws. By John H. Weeks. London: Seeley, Servia & Co., 1913. Pp. 352. Fifty-four illustrations and map.

The people chiefly treated in this book are the Boloki of the Middle Congo, a riverine tribe inhabiting the district near Nouvelle Anvers, formerly known as Bangala Station. The name Bangala, which has been variously applied to them and to the neighbouring Bomuna tribe, and is used by MM. Van Overbergh and De Jonghe to cover "a dozen or more different tribes speaking as many distinct languages," seems to have been quite unknown to the natives themselves. The "Bangala" of Stanley and Coquilhat, living at Diboko, under the chieftainship of Mata Bwika, were "Bomuna of the tribe of Bobanga." Mr. Weeks, by the bye, disposes of a certain amount of legend about Mata Bwika, whom Stanley imagined to be a sort of paramount chief—showing (p. 169) that there is no such thing as a paramount chief among the Boloki, and that the translation, "Lord of many guns," is an error.

The outcome of thirty years' experience cannot fail to be instructive, and an enormous amount of valuable information is contained in these pages, especially in the chapters on "Social Life and Organisation," "Marriage and Child-bearing," "Games and Pastimes," "Law, Crimes, and Ordeals," "Mythology and Folklore," "Religious Beliefs," "Taboos and Curses," &c., &c.

Particularly noteworthy—among numerous other points which I am compelled to pass over—is the Boloki theory as to unborn children (p. 129). Every family has a *liboma*, which may be a pool, a creek, or a *bombax* tree (it is not stated whether any other tree can be a *liboma*), and “is regarded as the preserve of the unborn children of the family. The disembodied spirits (*mingoli*) of the deceased members of the family performed the duty of supplying these preserves with spirit-children to keep their families strong and numerous. They have a very misty idea as to how these *liboma* are supplied with spirit-children (or *bingbongbo*), but I have a suspicion that underlying the *liboma* is some idea of re-incarnation—some thought there was a re-birth of certain deceased members of the family, and others thought the disembodied spirits had spirit-children, and these were sent to the *liboma* to be endowed in due turn with bodies If a man has one child by a wife and no more, he thinks someone has bewitched his *liboma* by taking the family’s stock of children from it and hiding them; or it may be that the other members of the family have bewitched her so that she may not be able to procure another child from the *liboma* that there might be more for themselves; if, however, none of the family have more than one child by their wives, then some other family, through hatred or jealousy, has taken by witchcraft the children from their *liboma* and concealed them, for only the family to which the *liboma* belongs can give birth to the unborn infant spirits then.”

Twins (*masa*) always have the names of Nkumu and Mpeya given them, just as with the Anyanja they are always called Mngoli and Nyuma, evidently meaning “in front” and “behind,” or “former” and “latter.” Mr. Weeks gives no explanation of the Boloki terms, which appear to be used also by the Bobangi (see *Whitehead’s Dictionary*, p. 481, s.v. *Twin*), though their word for “twins” is different. On the Lower Congo the word is *nshimba*; the elder twin is also called *Nshimba* (in Bentley’s spelling *Nximba*), while the younger is *Nzuji*. Mr. Weeks does not offer any suggestion as to the etymology of *masa*; it can hardly be connected with the Bantu root given by Meinhof as *paka*, which is found in Swahili as *pata* (*pacha*), in Pokomo as *mpatsa*, in Nyanja as *mpasa*, in Zulu as *impahla*, &c. Special rules have to be observed with regard to twins:—

“The first-born of twins is always carried on the right arm and the second on the left arm. Whenever the mother replies to a salutation she must give two answers, one for each child; and should she greet anyone she must duplicate her greeting. . . . She must eat, not with one hand, but with both, that each child may be properly nourished. Presents are given in duplicate or the child not receiving a present will become ill, fret, and die.”

No clan organisation is mentioned; and there seems to be a good deal of uncertainty about terms of relationship, which, among most Bantu peoples, are so minute and precise. (See p. 161 and Appendix, Note 4, p. 342.) It is to be noted that there is a word *nkaja*, like the Nyanja *mlongo* and Swahili *umbu*, applied by a brother to a sister and *rice versa*, but never by a sister to a sister or a brother to a brother. *Bokilo*, which is used for “mother-in-law,” but includes all relations by marriage, is derived from *kila* “to forbid” (cf. Zulu *zila*, and Ronga *yila*), and this etymology is confirmed by the custom of mutual avoidance between a man and his wife’s mother, and a wife and her husband’s father. Totemism would appear to be dying out, but there are numerous traces of it. What is said about curses and the mode of taking them off on pp. 298–300 should be compared with Ronga procedure described by M. Junod.

We note that, in Mr. Weeks’s opinion, polygamy tends to restrict the population, as it seems to have been possible (see p. 135) for a few wealthy men to “corner” all the available women; the numbers of the sexes would seem to be approximately equal.

The folk tales given in Chapter XIV. present interesting points of contrast with other Bantu stories, and merit careful study, especially the adventures of the legendary hero, Libanza.

We cannot conclude without a word of praise for the excellent illustrations, see especially Frontispiece and pp. 102, 118, and 160. A. WERNER.

Australia.

Malinowski.

The Family among the Australian Aborigines. By B. Malinowski, Ph.D. Published for the University of London Press by Hodder and Stoughton, 1913. **16**

Mr. Malinowski has written a book that should be carefully read not only by every student of Australian institutions, but by every student of sociology. It consists of a critical and systematic examination of all the information at present available about the individual family in Australian tribes. For the student of Australian ethnology it shows the fundamental importance of the individual family in the social organisation of the aborigines, and gives a clear and illuminating account of an institution that has been neglected not only in theoretical works but also in descriptive works. For the student of sociology in general it is by far the best example in English of scientific method in dealing with descriptions of the customs and institutions of a savage people. Thus, quite apart from its value as giving a detailed description of an important institution in a race that has received much attention from sociologists, it may well serve for some time to come as a model of method, and for this reason alone should be in the hands of every student of ethnology.

Although the work is purely descriptive in scope, yet it has an important bearing on theoretical questions. The author shows very clearly that the individual family is of extreme importance in the daily life of an Australian tribe. If the individual family did not exist, the moral and economic life of the natives would have to be something entirely different from what it is. This important fact has been ignored by writers who have defended a hypothesis of the former existence of group-marriage in Australia. The individual family, far from showing any signs of being a recent innovation, seems, on the contrary, to be one of the most fundamental elements of the social organisation. This much is evident from Mr. Malinowski's book, which, therefore, though not written with any controversial intention, affords an overwhelming argument against hypotheses of group-marriage as they are commonly stated.

The scope of the book may be indicated by a brief summary. Chapter I. explains the problem (to provide a definition or description of the individual family in Australia) and the methods used in dealing with evidence. Chapter II. describes the manner of obtaining wives. (In this chapter there is one conclusion drawn on what seems slender evidence, to the effect that marriage by exchange of females is absent from tribes of Western Queensland and Central Australia. Exchange of females may be disguised under betrothal customs. A common form of betrothal is that a man is betrothed to a girl, and at the same time his sister is betrothed to her brother. Further, marriage by purchase—by presents to the father-in-law—and marriage by exchange of sisters are not in any way mutually exclusive, for they may both exist in the same tribe. In Western Australia, although a man may have obtained his wife by the exchange of a sister, he is still obliged, both before and after marriage, to give presents of food and weapons to his father-in-law.) Chapter III. deals with the relations between a husband and wife, in so far as concerns the authority of the husband, his treatment of the wife, and the affection and attachment

between them. (One remark may be made in this connection. The author speaks of the ill-treatment of the woman by her husband. It may be observed that the Australian woman always has a remedy against any exhibition of physical force by her husband, in the use of her tongue. A woman's tongue is as powerful in controlling a wayward husband in Australia as it is in more civilised communities.) Chapter IV. deals with the sexual aspect of marriage (the only aspect usually considered by group-marriage theorists). Chapter V. discusses, under the heading "Mode of Living," the connection of the family with the local organisation. (This chapter is unsatisfactory owing to the very scanty information at present available about the Australian local organisation, but the author has made as good a use as seems possible of the imperfect material available.) Chapter VI. deals with the notion of kinship; one part of the chapter is an attempt to throw light on the native notions of kinship by an examination of mythological beliefs. (This chapter is, on the whole, the least successful in the book. The Australian notions relating to kinship cannot be studied without reference to what the author calls "group relationships"; in other words, the relationship systems, classes and clans. As Mr. Malinowski has confined himself, quite justifiably, to a study of the individual family relationships, this part of his work remains imperfect.) Chapter VII. deals with the relations of parents and children, and Chapter VIII. gives a brief account of the family as the economic unit.

A. R. B.

Physical Anthropology.

Buttel-Reepen.

Man and His Forerunners. By Professor H. von Buttel-Reepen. Authorised translation by A. G. Thacker, A.R.C.S. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913. Pp. 96. Figs. 70. Price 2s. 6d. net.

17

We have nothing but commendation for the manner in which Mr. A. G. Thacker has rendered Professor von Buttel-Reepen's popular German book into excellent English. It is little more than two years since the original work appeared as a series of articles in a German scientific periodical which were afterwards published in book form under the title of *Aus dem Werdegang der Menschheit*. The book succeeded in the fatherland for two good reasons: (1) The author possessed an excellent judgment in selecting the most essential facts in the present state of our knowledge of ancient man; (2) the facts were presented clearly and simply, the reader being aided by excellent illustrations. Professor Buttel-Reepen's book deserves all its success, for the author surveys the anthropological world without prejudice; he believes rightly that his sober, hard-working contemporaries are in search for truth as regards human beginnings, and renders to each deserving man a due, if brief, representation. Anyone in search of a simple and reliable guide to the present state of our knowledge of early man—his features, his works, and his manners—will find it here.

The English edition is very much up-to-date. It includes a fairly full account of the human skull found by Mr. Charles Dawson at Piltdown, Sussex, which has been ascribed to an extinct genius of humanity—Eoanthropus. Professor Buttel-Reepen has evidently been misled by the statement of the finder and namer of Eoanthropus—namely, that flints of the Chellean type were found with the remains. He consequently refers Eoanthropus, with Neanderthal man, to the Chellean age, in the second inter-glacial phase. The original authors refer the remains to a much earlier time, the early part of the Pleistocene, believing them to be of about the same age as the Heidelberg jaw. We also note that the author is prepared to believe in the contemporary existence of several species or genera of mankind, and that he accepts Mr. Reid Moir's sub-crag flints as genuine evidence of man's workmanship.

A. KEITH.



The small gap above, in the base, should be filled in; this is caused by a flaw in the negative.
FIG. 3.



FIG. 2.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate C.

Ethnography: Pelew Islands.

Beasley.

Inlaid Bowl and Stand from the Pelews. By H. G. Beasley.

18

I was fortunate to discover these two very ancient pieces in a small second-hand furniture shop, and I venture to think that a short explanation of them may be of interest. Articles from this group are but rarely met with, and even our great museums are, unfortunately, but poorly supplied. The bowl (Figs. 1-2) is of rather heavy wood, cut from the solid, and measures 23 inches (58.4 cm.) long, 14 inches (35.6 cm.) wide, and stands 9½ inches (24.5 cm.) high, outside measurement, the sides being ½ inch (1.3 cm.) thick. The depth inside is 7½ inches (19.1 cm.). The



FIG. 1.

ends are shaped and inlaid to represent a human face, of which the raised nose is the most striking feature. This ridge-like nose seems to be a peculiarity of Pelew work, since I have another bowl with the same feature, though otherwise perfectly plain. The sides of the bowl are divided by two bands of inlaid tridacna shell, and enclosed by them are four human figures formed of the same material let into the wood. These figures are highly conventionalised and are obviously phallic; above and between these figures are wing-shaped pieces of inlay. The base upon which this bowl stands would seem to show some Asiatic influence, since it closely resembles the small black wood stands that come from China and Japan. Both Wilson* and Kubary† state that these bowls were used to contain syrup, or as the

* Wilson.—*An Account of the Pelew Islands*. London, 1788.

† Kubary.—*Ethno. Beiträge zur den Korolinen Archipels*. Leiden, 1892.

former quaintly describes it, "sweet drink." The entire surface is coloured red, similar to the British Museum specimens. The rim of the vessel is quite flat and is also inlaid sparingly with small square pieces of shell, a fact which would imply the absence of any cover such as is present in the British Museum example. The presence of a cover in the last-named is doubtless due to its bird shape.

Amaso Delano,* who visited the islands with McCluer in 1792, speaks of this inlay work with admiration, which he describes as taking the form of birds, fishes, flying foxes, and men, and adds that in addition to their utensils this work was used on their canoes and paddles. Fig. 3 is a stand or low table on which fruit and taro were placed during a feast, as mentioned by Captain Wilson, unfortunately without illustration. Kubary† however describes them fully (page 204, Plate 26, Fig. 3). This specimen is of considerable weight and cut from the solid. It resembles the bowl in being coloured with red pigment and is elaborately inlaid in the same manner. Each of the four legs bears a highly conventionalised figure having very long arms and legs, each of which ends in a triangular piece of notched shell, which may represent hands and feet, the head and body being two round pieces of shell. The top is hollowed out, and presents a flat surface, the rim being about 1 inch wide and $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high. It is inlaid with five small square notched pieces. The outer edge is also elaborately decorated, the design being formed of triangular pieces set over small rosettes, and the same triangular inlay occurs on the base. The height of the stand is 15 inches (38.2 cm.), the diameter of the top, 22 inches (56 cm.).

H. G. BEASLEY.

Applied Anthropology.

Temple.

The Value of a Training in Anthropology for the Administrator.

19

Part of a Lecture delivered before the Oxford University Anthropological Society, by Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E.

I understand that I am called upon to address to-day, amongst others, probationers for the Indian Civil Service, and I wish to say at once that in urging them to train themselves in Anthropology I have no desire to add another subject to their already overburdened curriculum. My object in doing what is possible to forward the movement in favour of Schools of Applied Anthropology, for the benefit of such students as they are, is to ensure that they shall be put in the way of knowing for themselves the people with whom they may come in contact. The essential points of knowledge for a young man going out to India to assist in the Government are Languages, Administration, and Law. I put them in that order advisedly, as the result of many years' experience, and to these I strongly desire to add Anthropology, for the reason that if you are to succeed in governing men, knowledge of their languages or of the administration and the law of the country is not quite enough. It is also necessary to know the culture of the people with whom one is dealing. This is the knowledge that the Schools of Applied Anthropology advocated by myself and others wish to provide, not so much by directly teaching it as by putting students in the way of acquiring it accurately for themselves. We know very well the weight of the tax placed on the intellectual powers of students of the Indian Civil Service examination system, and we know how loyal are the efforts they make to meet that tax. We have no wish therefore to add to the burden, but we do wish, firstly, to interest them in Anthropology, and, secondly, by that means to lead them on to the study of it throughout life, to the benefit of themselves and of those amongst whom they work.

It will have been perceived that I have been true to my principles, and have used only general terms in treating my subject, but, as I am addressing those who

* Delano.—*Narrative of Voyages and Travels*. Boston, 1817.

† Kubary.—*Ethno. Beiträge zur den Korolinen Archipels*. Leiden, 1892.

are going to work in India, I propose giving one or two general hints, not so much as statements of positive facts, but as my own views after forty years of study, which they can most usefully spend their spare time in verifying later on.

The outstanding human fact in India is caste, which is the principle of family exclusiveness carried to its logical conclusion, and in this form it exists nowhere else in the world. It is there a birthright of divine origin preserved as rigidly as possible by immemorial custom. It is maintained by as complete avoidance as practicable of bodily contact with all outsiders. This has made the marriage rules most rigid, and has led to female infanticide, child-marriage, and widow celibacy. Work these points out for yourselves with such help as you can get from old students like myself. It has also divided the natives of India into a network of isolated communities, and rendered the population unable to combine against attack from outside. Hence the many foreign rulers in India. Hence, also, our own empire over a courageous, physically strong, and mentally capable population. Hence, too, the tendency of the people to split up into innumerable small religious sects, each with its own system of ethics.

Caste, being the rule of life of the great majority of the people, affects everyone. It will affect you who are going to India, for you will find that Europeans are there, owing to the conditions, a caste, whether they like it or not. It is this, and not the superciliousness of the Englishmen, that makes intimate social relations between British and Indian families impossible. The common complaint that our national characteristic of aloofness is responsible for the social isolation in India is a shallow observation. It occurs simply because it has been the rule of the land from a period long before our time.

The point to watch in the future is the breaking down of this social system. It is coming for a certainty, and its advent will mean a complete social revolution, with all its consequences. The causes are Western education awakening the critical faculties of the natives and shaking their faith in the complete purity of their birthright, and modern capacity for cheap and rapid movement, making personal isolation more and more difficult.

The second cardinal point about India is Hinduism. Like caste, it permeates everything. Hinduism is more than a religion. It provides a rule of life guiding the conduct of practically the whole Indian populace, whatever the form of the creed they may profess. Modern Hinduism is the outcome of many centuries of growth and exposure to outside influences, and is divided nowadays into two almost separate parts—philosophy and practice. The philosophy is monotheistic and the practice animistic; that is to say, there is a theoretical belief in the supreme power of one God, combined with a practical belief in the powers of innumerable supernatural personages and forces. This applies to the higher castes, but there is an enormous population below them who are known as the low castes; outcasts according to high-caste Hindu theory. Their faith is the primitive animism of the country largely tinged with the philosophy and the high moral teaching of the popular eclectic mediæval reformers of India, as to whom you should learn all you can when you get there.

It is these low castes that are becoming ripe for accepting Christianity wholesale. The higher caste Hindus and the educated natives generally are aware of this, and have started a strong revival of all the old native religions and of Hinduism especially. This is one of the chief causes of the unrest you will hear so much of when you get to India. And as to this you may usefully hear one or two things from an old anthropologist. The first point to grasp is that the unrest is real, inevitable, and natural. It is due entirely to the revolution caused in native life by the contact of old Eastern and Western civilisations. Our mere presence in India,

as the controlling power with a strong distinct civilisation of our own, has seriously threatened the caste system and the chief religion through the education we have imported wholesale. Western education is also completely upsetting the whole of the long-established methods of treating women, and it has created a new educated middle-class, largely unemployed in a suitable manner, and, therefore, inflammable and disappointed, ready to fan the flame of unrest whenever possible. All this is the necessary consequence of the conditions resulting from our overlordship. It is essentially a state of things where the anthropological training will avail largely to make you understand it, and by understanding it to keep the cool head required in a situation that can only become dangerous if ignorantly treated.

One or two more words with your leave. Be very careful to learn the spoken languages, or at least the chief language, of the province in which your lot is cast. You can never secure the interest of the people, or really know anything of them, unless you do. It is better for the people you govern that you should know their language well than to be a first-rate lawyer or a minutely accurate administrator. The other point is as regards the climate. Long continued residence in India affects the nervous system more than the muscles or the vital organs. It is not so much, as you will be told, the liver, the spleen, the stomach, or the head that are injured as the nerves. The thing to avoid is the local "head," a common colloquial recognition of that insidious disease, neurasthenia, the visible signs of which are irritability and loss of memory for small details, such as names and words. If you want to keep yourselves fit for work, endeavour to preserve your English steadiness of nerve, knowing that it is being more and more undermined by every year you spend in India.

I have spoken dogmatically because the time is short, but I wish you to understand that it is not my desire to dogmatise. What I have tried to do is to give you some of the conclusions resulting from many years of study as a basis for you to work on for yourselves.

R. C. TEMPLE.

Archæology.

Johnston.

The Origin of the Horse-shoe Arch. By Sir H. H. Johnston, **20**
G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

The reviews of a work on *Art in Spain and Portugal*, recently published by Mr. Heinemann, touch on a very interesting problem in both art and ethnology—the origin of the Horse-shoe Arch—what the French style more accurately *l'arc à cintre outre-passé*. Napoleon III wished to determine whether this leading feature of Saracenic architecture really owed its origin to the Arab uprising under the impetus of Islam, and despatched two architect-explorers to investigate ruins in eastern Syria which were alleged to contain horse-shoe arches and yet to date from the sixth and even fifth centuries of the Christian era. The report of this commission in the form of a large quarto or folio volume is to be seen in the British Museum Library (I cannot at the time of writing remember the authors' names, but this—and the work itself—could be easily elicited at the Library). I remember that the evidence collected went to show: (1) That the horse-shoe arch was possibly connected with a Phœnician sex-cult, had certainly existed long before Islam, possibly, with other phallic emblems, had penetrated to the holy shrines at Mekka and elsewhere in western Arabia, and had been closely associated with the *mihrab* (*mahrab*), or holy recess of Arab temples; an element in Islamic architecture which was adopted by the Muhammadans almost coevally with the first organisation of their cult. But there was already a tendency in pre-Islamic Persia and India towards the pointed arch, consequently this form influenced in many places and at different periods the round horse-shoe shape of the original *mihrab*. Nevertheless I have myself found and photographed in some of the

oldest mosques of north-western India (at Delhi, for example) forms of the horse-shoe arch which are only slightly pointed in the middle.

We know historically that one of the earliest *foci* of Saracenic architecture was central and southern Tunis—Kairwan to the beautiful little towns of the Shatts, or lacustrine oases. Here may still be seen examples—fragments—of eighth-century architecture exhibiting the horse-shoe arch in its perfect, rounded form—literally *l'arc à cintre outre-passé*. Later on, under Fatimid rule, architects came from Egypt (where Persian influence had early impressed the pointed arch on the local Saracenic architecture) and influenced Berber culture in North Africa. Thence arose the beautiful, slightly pointed shapes of the arch in so many mediæval Algerian and Moroccan buildings, and in the Saracenic architecture of Spain and southern Portugal from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. But I believe I am right in saying that the earliest Saracenic buildings in Spain and southern Portugal have the rounded horse-shoe arch, and not the pointed.

In the island of Jerba, and elsewhere in the adjoining Tunisian Sahara, there may be seen truly remarkable shrines and mosques containing what was obviously the primal shape and purpose of the *mihrab*. Traditionally these emblems of a sex-cult ante-date Islam and the arrival of the first Arab invaders. Here seems to have lingered down to the end of the Roman rule in North Africa a vestige of a religion imported by the Phœnicians. This same Syrian or Persian-gulf religion quite possibly penetrated to western Arabia and left behind the *mihrab* (and its outcome, the horse-shoe arch) in the temples of the pagan Arabs. Its relics, we know, affected the first Islamic colonists of Jerba and southern Tunis, who were the earliest schismatics of Islam, and whose descendants to-day (unless the advance of French civilisation has swept the buildings away) still worship in small shrines and strangely-decorated mosques, which have been described and pictured by me in the Royal Geographical Society's magazine for 1898. It is quite possible that the Phœnicians may have similarly planted in Spain the same cult and the same emblems and hollow moulds of emblems (which is all the Arab *mihrab* is) as they introduced into the African territories of Carthage, and that consequently the horse-shoe arch may have arisen independently in Spain as it likewise arose in Coele-Syria and southern Tunis. But, if so, it is perplexing to find it as a pre-Islamic feature in Visigothic buildings of northern Spain, whither the Phœnician influence can have scarcely penetrated.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

Chile, Northern.

Evans: Southward.

A Further Note on the Occurrence of Turquoise at Indio Muerto, Northern Chile. 21
By Oswald H. Evans and John Southward.

During last year a short note was forwarded for publication in MAN dealing with the occurrence of turquoise at Indio Muerto, in the Chañaral district of Northern Chile, and referring to the use of the substance by the former inhabitants of the region (see MAN, 1913, 87).

A short time afterwards, through the courtesy of Don Nicanor Plaza, of Chañaral, some examples of the turquoise in the crude state, and also in the form of beads and pendants, were obtained, together with a most interesting example of carved wood inlaid with the same mineral.

As we understand that hitherto the occurrence of turquoise deposits in South America has not been brought to the notice of ethnologists, it is as well to state that the mineral, for which chrysocolla might readily be mistaken, has been indentified by analysis as true turquoise.

The turquoise occurs in thin bands throughout an igneous vein, as shown by the matrix, but of its geological relationships *in situ* we are ignorant, the locality being

difficult of access and very seldom visited. In general, the colour of the stone is poor, being green rather than blue, and the pieces used by the Indians for beads and similar articles are full of flaws and earthy discolourations.

The worked specimens forwarded to us by Señor Plaza consist, firstly, of two large pendants to which a roughly conical shape has been given by grinding. Each is pierced at the apex with a hole for suspension, and in one instance a fragment of twisted thread remained inside the drill-hole; one of the pendants is scored at the base, presumably with decorative intention. Secondly, a number of cylindrical beads, subquadrangular in section, all perforated throughout their entire length for suspension.

Some few years ago great numbers of these beads of different sizes were brought down from the interior to Chañaral, having been obtained in an Indian burial ground in the vicinity of the mineral vein. It is stated that the graves contained "mummies" (using the term as generally understood to apply to desiccated human bodies) buried in a contracted posture, the ornaments being round their necks. As is usual in such cases, unfortunately, the remains were treated with scant ceremony, the turquoise objects, with few exceptions, alone being preserved.

Apart from the beads and pendants, of which the chief interest lies in the material from which they have been made, the most interesting relic consists of a small article of carved wood, inlaid with turquoise. This object is a kind of "palette" of hard, dark-coloured wood, slightly concave, its lower half is hollowed out into a shallow "tray," whilst the upper portion bears a conventionalised human figure carved in low relief. The dimensions are as follows:—Length, 15 cms.; width at top, 6 cms.; width at bottom, $4\frac{1}{2}$ cms.; thickness, $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. to 1 cm. The design is crude but the work has been carefully executed.

The aspect of the little figure at once recalls that of the central image in the celebrated monolithic doorway of

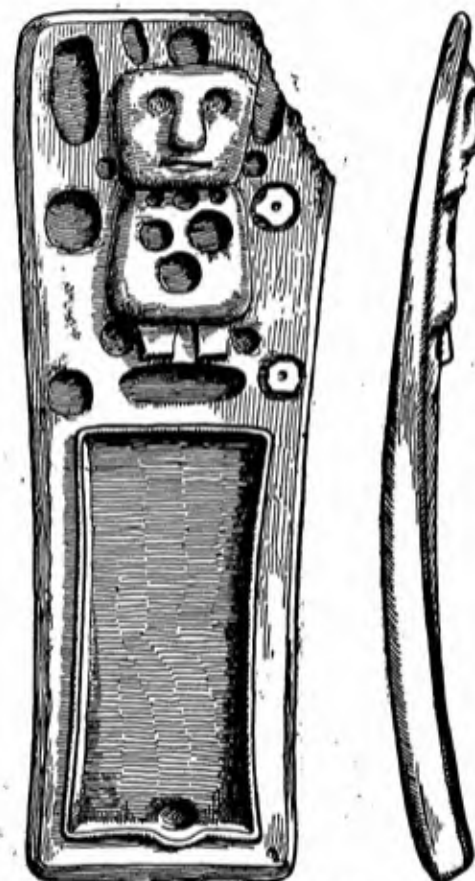


FIG. 1.—WOODEN "PALETTE" FROM CHAÑARAL.

Tiahuanaco, and it may at least be referred to the "Tiahuanaco style." The face and body are almost quadrangular and the lower extremities are represented by two small squares. Arms are lacking, unless the turquoise inlaying was supposed to represent them. The figure had, apparently, ear-plugs; beneath the "chin" runs a line of small hollows representing a necklace and the body-square bears three circular depressions formerly set with turquoise. Above the head are two hollows, one circular and placed centrally, the other, on the left side, is oval. There is no corresponding oval on the right side. These markings, formerly inlaid, may possibly represent a radiate head-dress, as in the Tihuanaco figure. On either side of the head are cut two long oval hollows, a small circle is placed

beside each leg, a large one beside each shoulder, another long oval runs below the legs, and, finally, on each side immediately above the shallow "tray" are two other circles. Two pieces only of the turquoise inlay remain, both on the right side. Certain of the cavities retain traces of a cement which, on heating, melts, swells up, and finally burns with an aromatic odour. This cement may possibly be the dried exudation of a species of *Euphorbia* peculiar to the North Chilean deserts, locally called the *Lechero* (milkman). This plant, on incision of the limbs or leaves, yields a white, strongly adhesive fluid, said to be poisonous, but occasionally employed as a convenient cement.

The turquoise inlay remaining consists of two irregularly circular flat beads of green colour, centrally perforated. The latter point is interesting, since it shows that the maker made use of beads in common use for personal ornament and not of specially prepared fragments of the stone. It would appear that the ovals were filled with cylindrical beads placed lengthways and the circles with transverse sections. A hole has been bored, presumably for suspension, near the lower rim of the tray, with an unhandy tool, for a portion of the rim was scooped away at the same time. This hole has been plugged up with cement as though the "palette" was intended to hold a liquid substance, perhaps face-paint or pigment for pottery decoration. At some time the object has been broken at the upper right-hand side, and shows signs of an attempt at mending, two small holes being drilled in the back along the line of fracture. There is another small drill hole on the front side at the bottom right-hand corner of unknown use.

The material of the "palette" merits a comment. Timber is practically non-existent in the Atacama region, but it is well-known that deposits of fossil or semi-fossil wood are not uncommon. One such deposit of hardwood occurs in the interior of Chañaral, and has a limited use as fuel, donkey loads being occasionally brought down to the little port and sold under the name of "carbon." The trees are said to be almost buried in sand, but have suffered little change, not being mineralised in the slightest degree. They bear witness to a gradual change of climate, for which other evidence is not lacking.

To all appearance the "palette" has been carved from this material, and this, taken in conjunction with the use of local turquoise for the inlaying, renders it probable that the object was made on the spot.

The close proximity of the Inca road, which passes near Indio Muerto on the way to Copiapo; the contracted "mummies"; and, above all, the style of the work, all point to Peruvian influence. Is it not probable that at Indio Muerto we have the source of the turquoise, which found its way throughout the whole Peruvian culture area?

The remaining articles sent to us by Señor Plaza comprise a spatula or spoon of common coast form shaped from part of the scapula of some animal, probably the guanaco, a few arrow heads, one of them of crystalline quartz, belonging to types described in MAN, 1906, 12, and figured in *Knowledge*, 1908, July, August. A small stone object of unknown use, possibly a paint muller, and three discs of pottery, about 1 in. to 1½ in. in diameter, slightly convex, and deeply scored with grooves, in two instances radial, but in the third specimen crossing at right angles, dividing the surface into squares. These are locally known as "Indian money." They have evidently been ground to a roughly circular shape from potsherds. The cross-hatched specimen exhibits traces of the polished red slip frequently met in the early pottery of the coast.

OSWALD H. EVANS, F.G.S.
J. SOUTHWARD.

Archæology: France.

Lewis.

On Some Prehistoric Antiquities in the Departments of the Vienne and the Charente, France. *By A. L. Lewis, Officier d'Académie.* **22**

The following particulars were collected by me while attending the meeting of the Congrès Préhistorique de France, held at Angoulême in August 1912, at which I had the honour of representing the Royal Anthropological Institute by request of the Council.

There is a fine dolmen very near to Poitiers; it is called the "Pierre Levée." and tramcars run from the Hôtel de Ville past the prison, at the back of which the dolmen stands in a garden at the corner of two roads. The capstone is about 15 feet in extreme length and breadth, and a further length of 4 feet, apparently broken off, lies on the ground at its north-east end. The bearings are nearly north-east and south-west; there are the remains of seven supporters, forming originally a chamber, 10 feet wide from north-west to south-east, and 7 feet or 8 feet from north-east to south-west. Of these supporters, two at the south-west end are from 5 feet to 6 feet high, but those at the north-east have fallen and let that end of the capstone down to the ground, so that without excavation it is not possible to say whether another chamber existed there or not. The capstone is nearly 3 feet thick, and on the top of it, near the north corner, are a rather remarkable boss and ridge.

In the Forêt de Boixe, near Vervant, there is a remarkable monument called le Gros Doignon. It consists of a tumulus with a large capstone supported by other stones. On getting down under this stone through a narrow opening, one side of the space beneath is found to consist of a wall with a large carefully-squared opening through it communicating with another rectangular chamber which is completely covered by the tumulus. Whether this is a later addition, and if so when it was constructed I do not know; but when Richard wrote his *France Monumentale* sixty or seventy years ago its existence was apparently unknown, and only the capstone was to be seen.

About 6 kilometres north from this monument there were formerly five dolmens, of which only two remain; these are called the Great and Little Perrottes, and stand about 165 feet apart in a line 25 degrees east of north. The Great Perrotte, which is at the south, consists of a very regular and nearly rectangular chamber 10½ feet internally from north-west to south-east, 9 feet from north-east to south-west, and 6 feet high. Three of the sides have three supporters each, and the fourth (south-west) has four; one on the north-east side has been forced inward, and the gap thus made forms the present entrance; one next to it, at the north corner, has sculptured upon it the representations of two stone axes. The capstone is nearly 18 feet long by 13½ feet wide, and from 6 feet to 8 feet thick. There are other stones, two of which are of great size, and also remains of a tumulus surrounding the chamber.

The Little Perrotte is small only by comparison, the capstone being about 14 feet long by 8½ feet wide and 4 feet thick. It has, however, remains of only five supporting stones, but there are what seem to be two smaller capstones covering an entrance passage, or it may be another chamber, on the south-east side. The longest axis of the dolmen itself is 25 degrees east of north and west of south. Several stones are scattered about near the two Perrottes, which are no doubt remains of other monuments. The material was said to be coralline limestone with terebratula, &c., brought from Château-Renaud, 3 kilometres distant.

Richard (*France Monumentale*) describes three other dolmens in this neighbourhood, which I suppose were those mentioned to the Congress as having been destroyed. These were at Luxé; one of them, four or five hundred metres south from the Perrottes, was very similar to the smaller Perrotte; another, two or three

hundred metres further south, had a rather circular capstone about 12 feet in diameter and 3 feet thick, and was at the east end of a mound or "éminence," perhaps natural, 56 metres long from east to west, 16 to 18 metres wide, and 3 feet or 4 feet high. These two monuments were about in the same line as the two Perrottes; a third was a little to the east of that line, but was too much destroyed in Richard's time to be intelligibly described. Richard also mentions another dolmen, a menhir, and a number of detached stones, fragments of other monuments, as existing in his time in the same arrondissement (Ruffec), but these were not brought to the notice of the Congress, and may possibly have been destroyed.

One kilometre north-east from Cognac, by the side of the road to St. Brice, are some remains called the dolmen de Séchebec after the neighbouring hamlet. I had only time to take a snapshot view of it without any attempt to measure it, but Richard (*France Monumentale*, p. 679) says that the capstone, originally in one piece, 5 metres long, 3 metres broad, and nearly 1 metre thick, was supported by other stones, but that, some of these having sunk down, the capstone broke in two pieces by its own weight, one piece remaining horizontal and the other inclining to the north-east; he adds that this dolmen is so slightly raised above the ground that it cannot be regarded as a cell for people to retire into.*

The programme of the Congress included a visit to the dolmen of St. Brice, 4 kilometres from Cognac, but want of time prevented it. Richard, however, describes this dolmen as consisting of two large flat stones of very irregular shape placed on five others, four of which support the larger capstone; this is 3 metres long and 3 metres wide, the longest diagonal from corner to corner being 6 metres. The smaller capstone is nearly square and is little more than half the length and width of the other.

The last dolmen visited by the Congress on this occasion was that of Segonzac, or St. Mesme, 13 kilometres south-east from Cognac. It was a chamber about 15 feet long and 4 feet or 5 feet wide inside, covered by two or three stones, or, perhaps, as Richard says, by one large one which has broken in halves. Only one piece now remains, partly fallen into the chamber, but the other half or another stone would appear to have still been there in Richard's time. The axis of the chamber is 65 degrees west of North and east of South. The material is limestone.

Richard describes another dolmen at St. Fort, 14 kilometres south from Cognac, as consisting of a capstone $7\frac{1}{2}$ metres and $6\frac{1}{2}$ metres in its respective diagonal measurements and about half a metre thick, supported on three upright stones $1\frac{1}{2}$ metre high, there being also remains of others which completed the walls of the chamber. This dolmen was, however, at some distance outside the route of the Congress, and as the excursion started from Angoulême at 5.30 a.m. and did not get back till 7.30 p.m. it could not be extended to include all the objects of interest in the vicinity.

The oldest church in Poitiers, the Baptistère St. Jean, has been converted into a museum for large stone objects. One of these is a double sarcophagus of the Merovingian period. There are also some lids of the same age, one of which has carved upon it a number of objects very like the axes which are occasionally found upon the stones of the dolmens as, for instance, at the Grande Perrotte already described. The Merovingian dynasty existed from 481 to 752 A.D., and I do not suggest that there was any direct connection between the people for whom these sarcophagi were made and those who carved representations of stone axes on the dolmens, but I think it not unlikely that this lid may have been made by a Gallic

* A very full account of this dolmen and of some others near Cognac, with plans and views by M. A. Coussot, has appeared in *The Compte Rendu of the Congrès Préhistorique de France* (Angoulême, 1912, pp. 600-638).

artisan who retained some lingering idea that such ornaments as these were especially appropriate to funereal objects. It has, however, been observed that neolithic weapons, tools, and fragments are often found in Merovingian graves; some of the French archæologists think they were placed there intentionally, but most of them maintain that they got in accidentally, because the Merovingian burial ground had previously been occupied by a neolithic population.* There were in the same museum some other stones with very prehistoric-looking figures upon them.

Lastly, there is a kind of edifice which, so far as I have been able to discover, is confined to the Charente. It is called the "Lanterne des Morts," and is a small tower standing in the churchyard and having a place at the top for showing a light, intended apparently to guide any wandering spirit to the spot to which all well-conducted ghosts were expected to retire. They are not used now, and whether the lights were kept burning every night or only on the night succeeding a funeral or other special occasion I do not know. In one case a pinnacle at an angle of a church was used for this purpose. These monuments belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but they bear a remarkable resemblance to the Irish round towers; both are always connected with burial grounds and both have windows at the top in four directions. The Irish towers are, however, four or five centuries older, and are much larger than the "lanternes des morts" and were probably used for several purposes, but one of those purposes may certainly have been that of a lighthouse for the spirits of the dead. If we admit this community of purpose an interesting question arises: Was there a lantern or tower building race which migrated from Ireland to the Charente or was the idea separately developed at different periods in those two countries? The answer may be of importance in the consideration of a still larger question.

A. L. LEWIS.

Anthropology.

REVIEWS.

Johnston.

Views and Reviews. By Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. London, 1912. **23**

In this little volume Sir Harry Johnston has collected and revised several of his interesting and suggestive articles which have appeared in various periodicals. He writes from the point of view of an experienced officer who has held important charges among primitive races in many parts of the world, and at the same time of an anthropologist of very definite opinions, not untainted by the political views advocated by most of the organs in which his papers first appeared. Some of his views will undoubtedly provoke controversy, and some of his statements as to disputed questions treat too absolutely as undoubted facts matters still under discussion. For instance, on p. 68, he says that St. Patrick was a "native of British Dumbartonshire," although Professor Bury, the author of the best modern book on the subject, has traced him to the Severn estuary. On p. 134, he speaks of the Baluchi as Dravidian, although their Iranian origin is fairly well established, and even the Brahui, who speak a Dravidian language, show little trace of Dravidian blood. Similar cases might be quoted from other essays, but these are minor points and do not detract from the general value and interest of the work. A considerable space is occupied with Irish and German subjects, and the remaining essays on "Islam," "Racial Problems," and "The Rise of the Native" should be studied by all anthropologists.

It is the introductory essay, however, which more than any of the others claims the recognition of all members of the Royal Anthropological Institute. It is entitled "The Empire and Anthropology," and in it Sir H. Johnston advocates the claims of the Institute to national recognition, and points out the urgent importance to the

* "Silex Néolithiques dans des Tombes Mérovingiennes" in *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*. Tome IX (1912), p. 660.

Empire of an institution based on scientific principles, where young men proceeding to the backward parts of the earth can receive at any rate the beginnings of a training in the methods of dealing with the primitive or barbaric races they may encounter, and politicians and administrators may also acquire some understanding of matters on which they may have to legislate. This is what the Institute has long been fighting for, but its efforts have hitherto met with neglect, and the Government of the Empire more interested than any other in such questions cannot afford to spend a single penny on promoting such vital studies. We must, therefore, be grateful for Sir Harry Johnston's forcible and well-argued advocacy, and we must continue to hope that the public and the public men of this country may in time be roused by such appeals to some perception of the urgency of the case. Perhaps the discussion on anthropological teaching at the late meeting of the British Association is a sign of the times, and something definite may be about to happen.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.

America: Archæology.

Beuchat.

Manuel d'Archéologie Américaine. Par H. Beuchat. Picard: Paris, 1912.

24

Books of this nature are in a sense the despair of the reviewer and the delight of the critic. On the one hand, it is very difficult to deal shortly, and at the same time fairly, with a book of such immense scope, on the other, it is obvious that a volume of this nature must offer almost limitless opportunity for criticism.

M. Beuchat's object in compiling this work is to provide students with a manual in which they may find set forth shortly and clearly the outlines of the archæology, using that word in its widest sense, of the twin American continents.

It may be stated at once that in this extremely laborious task the author has achieved a very considerable measure of success. From certain points of view the manual is all that could be desired; the many highly controversial points are handled with common sense and restraint, and the author for the most part, as is best in such a book, maintains a conservative attitude, often refraining from identifying himself with one or other of opposing theories. In this connection a word of praise is due to the section dealing with the possible discovery of America by the Norsemen. The statements in the text are supported by an array of very useful bibliographical references in footnotes, and there is further a well-selected bibliography, which is, however, marred by the amazing omission of any reference to Dr. A. P. Maudslay's great work.

Of course a work of this nature is based on the study of two sources of information, viz., written records and the material relics of ancient culture, and the proportion of success which it achieves depends in a very great measure on the skill with which the author supplements the first with the second, and interprets the second in the light of the first. M. Beuchat certainly has an extremely good knowledge of the literature of his subject, and though a slight weakness as regards books and papers written in English may be apparent from time to time, few experts have covered as wide a range as he. His acquaintance with what I may call the material archæology of America is, however, not nearly so extensive, and it is from this point of view that his book affords the greatest scope for criticism. The material remains for the most part—stone implements, pottery, and so forth—receive comparatively short treatment, and areas concerning which literature is relatively scanty, however rich in remains they may be, are treated rather too summarily. This is especially noticeable as regards Costa Rica, and the reader is made to feel throughout that the author's interest in his subject is concentrated on the literary side, while his appreciation of "specimens" is not nearly so keen. In fact, the book was written in the library with little reference to the museum. Thus he devotes over thirty pages to

the Mexican calendar and writing system, and less than three to Mexican pottery. It is from this point of view that the illustrations are not very satisfactory; they do not afford a comprehensive view of American culture as a whole. In number and, with few exceptions, in individual quality they leave little to be desired, but they are not altogether a representative selection. While on this subject the author should be urged to withdraw in future editions the abominable figure purporting to represent types of Chiriqui pottery, which constitutes a cruel libel on those who, of all American potters, had perhaps the finest appreciation of form in the moulding of their vessels.

The book starts with an introduction of over eighty pages devoted to the various "discoveries" of America. This is followed by a series of chapters on the northern continent, its geological periods, human remains, problematical paleoliths, the mounds, and cliff-dwellings. The question of early man in South America is then treated, and the author proceeds to deal with the Mexican and Mayan cultures. The Antilles follow next, and then the Isthmus, Columbia, Peru, and the Diaguita area. Finally, a good index of some twenty-seven pages adds to the value of the book.

It is obviously impossible to criticise the chapters in detail, but it may be said that those on the Mexican and Maya are the best; that on Peru perhaps the least good.

There are inevitably many individual points which the reviewer would like to criticise, but restraint is necessary, since the undoubted value of the volume might thereby become unfairly obscured. One or two only will therefore be mentioned.

One would like to know on what ground the author calls Tlaloc "la vieille divinité Otomie." It is almost incredible that this agricultural deity originated among a hunting people. Besides, Sahagun states that he was first worshipped by the Toltec, and that the first Chichimec invaders of the valley found there an idol of him which was adored in later times, until broken up by Zumarraga. Again, Tlaloc is the only deity who has been identified with certainty as portrayed by the figurines associated with the pre-Aztec culture at Teotihuacan. It would seem, therefore, that he was the god of the early valley-dwellers. In passing it may be mentioned that the stone knife with the fine mosaic hilt which the author figures is wrongly attributed as belonging to the Uhde Collection, it is in fact in the British Museum, while the spear-thrower which he refers to that institution is—and the reviewer says so with regret—not there, but belongs to the Dorenberg Collection.

Another misstatement relates to the Kakchiquel calendar. M. Beuchat writes: "Les mois du calendrier Kakchiquel nous sont totalement inconnues," in spite of the fact that a full list is given by Brinton.

His remarks about the distribution of amygdaloid celts in the Antilles are misleading, since this type is particularly prevalent in Jamaica.

In writing of Colombia he makes the term *guecha* equivalent to "soldier," whereas it seems to have been a title conferred only on the bravest fighters.

Of Cuzco, he says that at the conquest it played in Peru "la même rôle que Mexico vis-à-vis du Mexique." This is certainly not the case. All that the Mexicans required from the other cities was a recognition of priority in the concrete form of tribute; otherwise they abstained from interference in political or religious matters. The Inca, however, imposed their own laws, state religion, and social system on the provinces they conquered, and in reality stood at the head of an empire such as never entered into the minds of the Aztec.

It is incorrect also to state of the Peruvians as a whole, "Le tatouage semble aussi leur avoir été inconnue," in the face of the discovery at Ancon, by Reiss and Stübel, of human remains with the tatu clearly evident.

Equally incorrect is the statement, "Les Peruvians ne tissaient pas, au sens que nous attachons à ce terme." The existence in considerable quantities of

undoubtedly pre-Spanish, double-faced textiles, and of a loom with two heddles (in the British Museum), on which a piece of cloth is in process of manufacture, is sufficient evidence to the contrary.

There are a number of other points regarding which the reviewer would challenge M. Beuchat's verdict, but the present occasion is hardly suitable. It will be pleasanter, and also more fair, to conclude by once more paying a tribute to the author's industry and level-headedness, combined with his generosity in the matter of footnotes, which renders his book of considerable value as a work of reference for students of American archæology.

T. A. J.

Archæology: Mesopotamia.

Handcock.

Mesopotamian Archæology. By P. S. P. Handcock. London: Macmillan & Co., 1912. Pp. 423 + xvi. With illustrations and maps. **25**

This book gives in a handy form the chief results of excavations in Mesopotamia by the numerous explorers who during the last seventy years have risked their lives in trying to pierce the mysteries of the past in that wild and unhealthy region. They have collected evidence which will be invaluable to historians when the time is ripe for constructing a connected history of early civilisations. Mr. Handcock does not profess any intention of attempting to write a portion of such a history, he has merely classified his material under various headings such as Architecture, Sculpture, Dress, Life, etc.

He has, however, prefaced his work by a short account of the various States that struggled for existence or supremacy until the Assyrian crushed them all under his iron heel. As regards the earlier periods, such a sketch is at present chiefly a bald chronicle of names of rulers and of cities, with dates more or less hypothetical until about 2000 B.C. or even later. Of the origins of the two contending races, the Semites and the Sumerians, very little is known, but as the sea covered a great part of Mesopotamia until a few thousand years ago, we shall probably have to seek for their origins in the higher lands of Arabia and Persia. Mr. Handcock's account of their burial places is very meagre, and he does not even mention Bahrein Island, in the Persian Gulf, where so many thousand tombs await the explorer, and where excavations will shortly be made that may throw a much needed light on the burial customs and racial affinities of the Mesopotamians.

He is equally reticent about the German explorations at Fara, and though he alludes to them several times he gives no definite references and does not warn his readers of the difficulties they would have in trying to get more information from that quarter. The comparatively modern remains of Assyria and Babylon fill up the greater part of the book, which is quite a mine of information on this subject. It is a pity that the exigencies of the publishing trade compelled recourse to outline sketches instead of photographs of most of the objects. Such sketches are useful reminders to those who are acquainted with the originals, but are of little value to those who have not easy access to the objects themselves or to the very expensive reports which contain better illustrations of them.

The style of the letterpress is necessarily somewhat dry, and it would have been better if the sentences had not been so lengthy—some of them are more than half a page long. It is perhaps fortunate that the author has touched very lightly upon anthropological subjects, since he has the literary man's weakness for using technical and out-of-the-way terms even when common-place words would be more accurate. Why should he say "specific gravity" when he means weight (p. 255)? Is an *under* garment well described by being called a "fringed robe or *chasuble*" (p. 345)? and can a fragment of mother of pearl be said to have "emanated" from a place (p. 311)?

H. G. SPEARING.

Sociology.

Webster.

Rest Days; a Sociological Study. By Hutton Webster, Ph.D. Reprinted from the *University Studies*, Lincoln, Nebraska. Vol. XI. Nos. 1 and 2. Pp. 158. **26**

The value of Professor Webster's work is well known to anthropologists from his, by now, classical study on *Secret Societies*. The present little book presents the same qualities: a thoroughly scientific limitation in drawing only sound and well-established conclusions, a vast knowledge of the field of his research, and a great talent in putting facts together and letting them speak for themselves.

As Professor Webster promises to publish the results of his studies in an amplified form, a few words about the present issue may be sufficient. Professor Webster classifies the various forms of rest days under the following headings: Periods of abstinence at critical epochs, periods of abstinence after death, at sacred times and seasons and periods of abstinence connected with lunar phenomena. These categories refer to savage peoples. There are besides two chapters on Semitic rest days: the evil days of the Babylonians and the Hebrew Sabbath. Lastly, the unlucky days in the lower and higher cultures are analysed.

In conclusion Professor Webster remarks that the various superstitions about fatal, unlucky, and unfavourable periods have been often a hindrance to human progress, and that the development from days of superstitious abstinence into regular holidays has been extremely slow.

This conclusion of Professor Webster's appears, however, somewhat one-sided. It seems to heed exclusively the dark side of the picture. The irrational and superstitious rest days of the savage may have had some importance in the course of economic progress. The economic value of holidays in our present society is well recognised, and has received a legal sanction in nearly all civilised countries.

The primitive rest days could not have had the importance of the modern holiday, in as far as this is a day of abstinence from labour. The savage never works too hard and there is no danger from that quarter. But the savage's mode of working is pre-eminently irregular, unsystematic, and desultory, and, as Professor Bücher has shown in his admirable work on primitive economics, it needs in the first place to be shaped, regulated, and framed. Now, primitive rest days appear, *prima facie*, to be such external regulators of labour, frames into which the economic activities must be fitted. This seems to apply to the rest days and connected festivities observed by the Kayans of Borneo at the sowing and harvesting of rice. The superstitious and religious rites, as well as times of abstinence, observed at such times, did certainly hamper the economic activities, but at the same time they regulated them.

The savage lacks economical foresight and a developed economic organisation of collective labour. He has other stimuli, other external coercion to be put to work. Superstitious and religious ideas are undoubtedly one of them; magic and religion did certainly play an important part in man's economic evolution, a part hitherto almost entirely ignored by students. **B. M.**

Uganda.

Kagwa.

Ekitabo kya Basekabaka Bebuganda. By Sir Apolo Kagwa, K.C.M.G. London: Luzac & Co., 1912. **27**

More than fifteen years ago the Katikiro of Uganda began to help two missionaries to learn the history and customs of his country; and he has pursued the study with singular keenness and acumen. To the personal influence of the Katikiro himself we owe a recent book in English on the Baganda*; the information therein contained was

* *The Baganda*, Rev. J. Roscoe.

gathered from representative old men, who for the European would have been quite unapproachable, and in some degree also unintelligible, without the Katikiro. In the early stages of this enquiry he began to write down the traditional history of his country; he also kept many records of the stirring times in his own eventful life, and, through the kindness of a personal friend, the collection so made was privately printed as far back as 1901. We now welcome a second edition under the ægis of well-known publishers. It contains one very important addition, viz., some extremely valuable notes on the history of the closely allied kingdoms of Ankole, Toro, Koki, and Bunyoro. They are of necessity scanty; the author had very limited sources of information, but he has made the most of them. What is locally accepted is put down with faithfulness, without note or comment. Our purpose shall be to add that comment which the wider outlook of many European students has made possible.

We might, indeed, enlarge on the comparatively recent history of the country to which about one-half of the old edition was devoted; in doing so we should obtain an autobiography of the author, a most striking personality, written with singularly little egoism, considering the important rôle he played. Sir Apolo Kagwa might well be called the Bismarck of Uganda, and his autobiography is consequently of the deepest interest to all his many personal friends. That is one half of the book; the other half is a record of inestimable value for the ethnologist. There can be little doubt but that in Uganda is to be found at least one link that connects Hottentot with Berber. To Uganda, no less than to Ankole, in prehistoric times there came a visitor from heaven, the mythical ancestor of the race. That, in peasant parlance, expresses the arrival of a light-skinned race; more than once has the present writer been so greeted; similar usage was reported from the distant and quite unrelated country of Usukuma, at the south-east corner of the lake. The date of this migration is fixed by the list of kings at thirty-one generations; for Kiwewa and Kalema were mere usurpers who only held power a few months.

The centre of this movement was Ankole; and from Ankole migration continued. The first king of Ankole was called Ruhanga—a word used in a sense equivalent to God, as the one who apportions to men the work they are capable of doing. He left and went to heaven and was lost; in other words, the route of migration was still open and he returned to his own people, or more probably the movement continued southwards; the second king Lugaba did much the same; so also did the third king Nyamate. Thus in Ankole it was not until the fourth king, after an interval of three full generations or ninety years that mention is distinctly made of building a royal residence. On the other hand, in the history of Uganda proper, even the first mythical king Kintu begins almost at once to build; he is a residential ruler, not a mere nomad halting for twenty years or so on his way elsewhere.

Koki and Toro are much later offshoots of this movement, the dates being approximately fixed in this history, viz., Koki about nine generations back, say roughly, 250 years; and Toro only four, or little more than a century ago. Both these originated from Bunyoro, not Uganda; but the history does not enlighten us as to the origin of Bunyoro. The constant rivalry between Uganda and Bunyoro points to a common origin under the influence of the Hamitic migrants who made their centre in Ankole. Linguistic evidence, so far as the writer has followed it, confirms this view; the original prototype for the language of Uganda is distinct from the prototype for Bunyoro. The latter is to be found in all Bantu languages of the district; the former is traceable amongst the Tonga clans on the north of the Zambesi, and possibly also much further south in Herero.

But the Uganda tradition claims that these ancestors arrived at a landing-place called Podo. Podo in this second edition is now said to be in Bunyoro; that is, Bunyoro was the first country traversed by these Hamites. The tradition,

however, much more likely preserves their place of origin. They came from Podo or were connected with Podo; and phonetically there is nothing impossible in the identity of this word with Ful, the great Fula race of to-day, some sections of which still describe themselves with the prefix Futa, such as Futa-Jalon: and the Fula are typically Hamitic in language.

W. A. CRABTREE.

Religion.

Main.

Religious Chastity: an Ethnological Study. By John Main. New York, 1913. **28**

There is room for a work on the important subject of the sexual element in religion and in magic. This book (which has been written by a lady under a pseudonym, and appears to have been privately printed, since no publisher's name appears upon it) by no means covers the ground. But it contains a considerable collection of records of tales, practices and superstitions in various parts of the world, relating mainly to the asceticism and immolation of widows, and to continence and prostitution in the service of the gods. The psychology of the subject, though referred to in the preface; is scarcely touched; and we are told somewhat oracularly that the ethnologist should not "rashly trespass upon the historian." These limitations reduce the value of the work. But students will find it useful, for the author's reading has been wide, and they will obtain many hints where to look for practices to which they may be directing attention.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

India: Cochin.

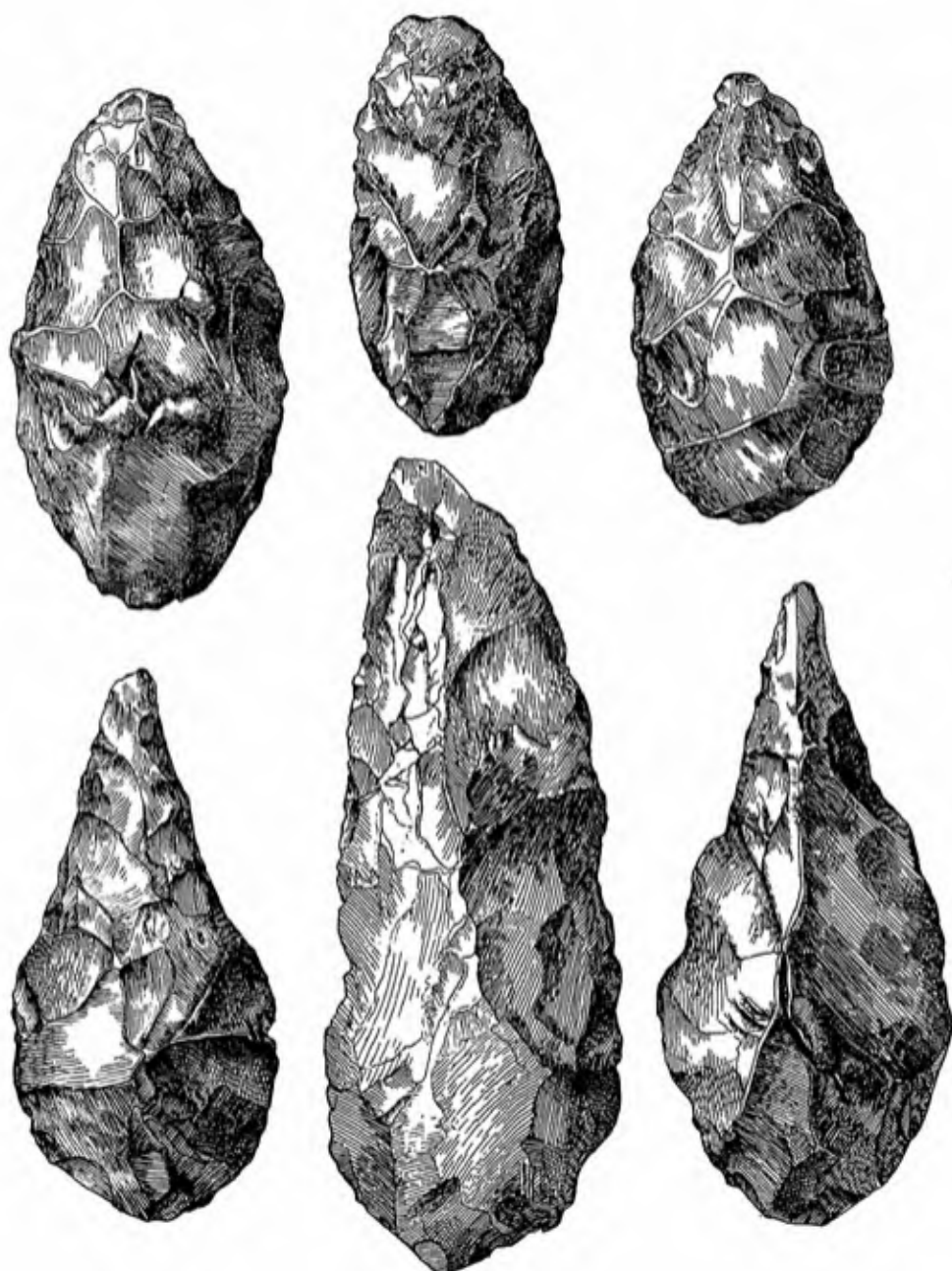
Iyer.

The Cochin Tribes and Castes. By L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer. Vol. II., 23 x 15 cm., pp. xxiii + 504. Madras, 1912. **29**

The second volume of this account of *The Tribes and Castes of the Cochin State* is an improvement on its predecessor, because the writer, a Tamil Brâhman, is more familiar with the higher castes than with the menial and forest tribes. In the present instalment the author deals with at least five interesting groups, the Nâyars, the Brâhmaus, the Mappillas, the Black and White Jews, and the Syrian Christians. The general results of the investigation are well described in the Introduction by Professor A. C. Haddon. It is impossible here to give even a summary of the interesting material now supplied; only the general features of the volume can be briefly indicated. In the first place, we find a comprehensive account of the Nâyars with their strange social organisation and their marriage system, with its bearing on the question of polyandry. Secondly, the author gives a full account of that remarkable people, the Nambûtiri Brâhmaus, who, more than any of the existing Brâhman groups, maintain the Vedic traditions. This forms a useful addition to the information already collected by Messrs. Thurston and Fawcett. Thirdly, he deals with the Mappillas, a race of Musalmâns by religion, who have in recent times more than once endured attacks by British troops as the result of fanatical outbreaks. Lastly come the Black and White Jews and the Syrian Christians, who illustrate the development of Semitic dogmas and ritual in an Oriental environment.

The book, as a whole, will be useful as an addition to Mr. Thurston's great work on *The Tribes and Castes of Southern India*. It would possess higher value if the author's training in anthropology and comparative religion had been more thorough, but when he describes races with whom he is personally familiar, his contributions deserve attention. The volume is well illustrated by a fine series of photographs, and is issued at the expense of the Raja and State authorities, who deserve congratulation on their liberality. It is understood that the author has collected a considerable number of measurements of the people under his charge, and it may be hoped that these will be published without delay.

W. CROOKE.



STONE IMPLEMENTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate D.

Africa, South : Archæology.

Doux.

Stone Implements from South Africa. *By J. Lee Doux.*

30

Whilst at the diamond diggings at Windsorton, on the bank of the Vaal River, I found a number of stone implements. I kept a few of the best specimens of different types, but had to leave some very bulky ones behind. The claims I worked were in the "deep ground," necessitating the sinking of a shaft to reach the diamondiferous gravel. First of all there was a layer of red brick earth of varying depth, according to whether the shaft was being sunk on high ground or in a depression on the veldt. Having gone through this earth, which might be from 6 feet to 12 feet in depth, a bed of gravel of about 12 feet in thickness was come upon, and then a shale or "cement" bottom was reached. It was stated that a further layer of gravel lay under this, but I did not investigate the matter. It was whilst sieving the gravel that I came across a number of stone implements of various types. The gravel consisted of very rounded boulders of all sizes, but chiefly of one sort of rock, close grained and of a dark slaty-blue colour when broken. Mixed up with these were stones, pebbles, and sand, and such things as agates, crystals, garnets, cat's-eyes, &c. Some pretty effects were obtained by keeping varicoloured pebbles in a white dish of water. Most of the implements found were of the same stone as the boulders. Seeing how extremely water-worn this gravel is, the diamonds even being slightly worn, it is curious that some of the implements found in it should be quite sharp-edged. Besides the specimens discovered in the gravel, I picked up one (stained red) on the surface of the veldt. This last specimen might be presumed to be of later date than those found deep in the gravel, and therefore better made and shaped, whereas it is a clumsy looking tool compared with many of the latter. Whilst walking on the present bed of the river, in the dry season, I picked up a dark grey implement of a shape somewhat different from the others. Arrow heads have been found in the same position, but I did not find any myself. There are several beds of gravel along the banks of the river of various depths and composition and at different levels, some having no overburden of red brick earth. With the exception of the specimen found on the veldt and the one on the river bed, all my implements came from one particular bed of gravel, as described above. Not being a scientist, I cannot give any information concerning the geology of this part of Africa, and I had no means of ascertaining the level of the different beds of gravel compared with that of the present river bed.

J. LEE DOUX.

England : Archæology.

Smith.

Flint Implements from the Crayford Brick-earths. *By R. A. Smith.*

31

The announcement made by Mr. Higgins in MAN, 1914, No. 4, and the note appended to it, have given rise to some misunderstanding, and a few words of explanation follow.

At the November meeting I was invited to open the discussion, and not having seen or heard of anything of the same type from the Crayford site, pointed out the close relation of the flints to the Northfleet series, and subsequently reduced my remarks to writing. Neither Mr. Higgins nor myself intended to go more fully into the matter, but mention should have been made of the fact that the brick-earths have for years been attributed to the period of Le Moustier. Mr. Leach has kindly supplied me with references to passages in *Proc. Geol. Assoc.*, which express the prevailing opinion, but which are not accompanied by descriptions or illustrations of

the flints on which the chronology is based. As late as 1912 the question was regarded as still open by himself and Mr. Chandler, in their report on an excursion to Erith (*ibid.*, xxiii., 189). Mr. Worthington Smith, whose opinion was quoted and accepted by Messrs. Hinton and Kennard in 1905, writes in reply to my inquiry that he cannot remember saying or writing anything about the Crayford pit, or discussing it in any way, though he has a few relics from the site. Having never joined an excursion to Crayford, I was quite unaware of the nature or existence of flint-finds other than Mr. Spurrell's series in the Natural History Museum, which (I repeat) as a group hardly present Le Moustier features. The fauna has already been carefully worked out, especially by Mr. Hinton; and Mr. Higgins does not claim to have collected any new species, but, having secured some datable flints, very naturally proceeded to publish the find. Mr. Chandler's report on the Geologists' Association's excursion to Crayford in June was published too late for notice, but there are other claims to priority, and Mr. Higgins joins with me in expressing regret that they should have been overlooked.

R. A. SMITH.

Jersey: Archæology.

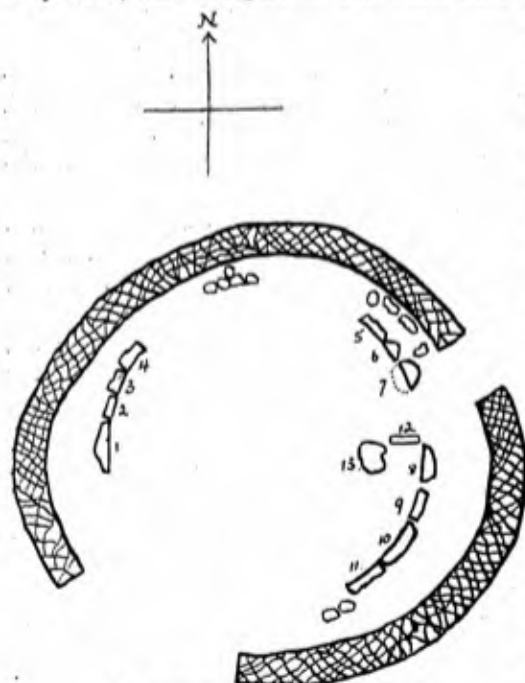
Marett: de Gruchy.

Excavation of a Barrow called La Hougue de Vinde, situated at Noirmont, Jersey. By R. R. Marett and G. F. B. de Gruchy. 32

This barrow was examined and partially excavated by the Société Jersiaise in May 1881, and a report of the work done appeared in *Bulletin No. VII* of that Society, dated 1882. Apart from the

fact that the mound contained a wall of dry rubble, roughly circular in shape, little was discovered, but indications were noticed of disturbance at some earlier period, while a sixteenth-century coin occurred deep in the mound. The actual finds within the wall were a stone hammer, a few flint flakes—one showing signs of work—and a few fragments of pottery.

The present writers, one of whom owns the property, decided to make further researches, and in August of last year engaged workmen to clear out the whole central portion of the mound. The barrow stands upon the plateau of the Warren of Noirmont Manor, at about 200 feet above sea level, on a site affording a clear view in all directions. At the time of the excavations of 1881 the mound stood about 4 feet to 5 feet in height above the level of the surrounding moorland. It was composed of earth which must have been brought from some little



LA HOUQUE DE VINDE, JERSEY.

Sketch plan showing outer rubble wall and remains of an inner ring of large stones.

distance, the immediate neighbourhood not affording a sufficient supply. Below this earth was reached a level surface of much harder earth, which was doubtless the original floor, as it agrees in level with the surrounding land surface. The floor in question is quite 18 inches below the levels of the trenches made in 1881. It is due

simply to the shallowness of these trenches, and to the partial nature of the former excavation, that the stone circle about to be described was not then discovered. The heads of four of the stones were actually uncovered, and are roughly indicated in the plan attached to the 1881 report, being, however, erroneously represented as forming a straight line. The rubble wall turned out to be built upon a foundation of larger weather-worn boulders, and to be some 42 inches in height, not 18 inches as stated in the report. Inside this wall, and roughly concentric with it, were found the remains of an inner ring of flat stones set up on edge, those remaining *in situ* (1-4, 5-7, and 8-11 in plan) forming three arcs of a true circle of 11 ft. 2 ins. radius. The error was not more than 2 inches to 3 inches, implying about as accurate a piece of work as it is possible to accomplish with rough stones. One of the slabs of stone (7) was tilted inwards at an angle of about 50 degrees. There also occurred a slab (12), similar to those forming the ring, standing upright but at nearly a right



[E. Gullon

LA HOUGUE DE VINDE, JERSEY—VIEW, LOOKING EAST, OF EXCAVATED INTERIOR.

angle to the next slab in the ring. As the gap so left coincides with an old trench from outside, it seems probable that this slab was shifted into this position in driving this trench. The slabs forming the ring vary from 39 inches to 18 inches in height, and from 40 inches to 17 inches in width. Where the earth was least disturbed (8-11 in plan) the ring was heightened to about 45 inches by a well-fitted rubble coping built on top of the slabs. All round the inside of the ring, but not in the centre, we found quantities of sharp-edged stones, none too large to be lifted by hand, upon the floor or piled against the slabs of the ring. These showed no appearance of having been arranged as a flooring, and may be attributed to the demolition of a similar rubble coping all round the ring. Of larger stones within the ring there occurred one weather-worn boulder (13) apparently *in situ*, and two others embedded in the earth of previous excavations which had evidently been moved. All the stones used seem to be of the granite which outcrops in the near neighbourhood.

Inside the ring we found no traces of a dolmen or kist, no limpet shells, only three sherds of pottery, and these probably recent, and very few flakes of flint. The paucity of flint flakes is remarkable, since the soil for more than 100 yards round the barrow is full of them, some showing clear signs of human work of the crude neolithic type common in Jersey. Specimens of these flakes may be seen in the Museum of the Société Jersiaise. It is to be noted that, apart from disturbance caused by earlier excavations, the mound was riddled with rabbit holes, and hence afforded ample opportunity for objects on the surface to find their way below ground. Inside the mound occurred a number of beach pebbles. These were mostly of small size, but one was large and of remarkable appearance, being shaped like a mattock, square at one end and pointed at the other. It is composed of diorite or diabase, measures 15 inches by 6 inches by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and weighs $5\frac{1}{2}$ English lbs.; it shows no traces of grinding, nor perhaps any signs of use.

This barrow, though it proved so barren of "finds" whereby its age might be accurately determined, is of interest for two reasons: Firstly, the presence of two circular walls, the inner one consisting of large stones, makes it unique, it would seem, among known examples. Secondly, the absence of any trace of a dolmen or kist makes the original purpose and age of the erection something of a mystery. It is highly improbable that a dolmen, and only somewhat less improbable that a kist, should be removed without leaving any trace behind.

Dry-walling occurs in association with several of the Jersey dolmens, a single circular wall of rubble encircling Les Cinq Pierres, while at Faldouet there was actually a double circle of rubble-walling, to judge from certain remains found on the east side. (See R. R. Marett, *Archæologia*, LXIII (1912), 217*n*.) Outside the Channel Islands, we find an encircling wall composed of loose slabs of lias, from $34\frac{1}{2}$ to $44\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, and with a radius of about 13 ft. 9 ins., in Wick Barrow, Somerset, which is proved by the contained pottery to belong to the Early Bronze Age. Curiously enough, here, as at La Hougue de Vinde, a chance coin betrayed the incursions of ancient treasure-seekers, in this case Romans of the fourth century, A.D., whose forcible entry through the wall was marked by the displaced stones. (See H. St. George Gray, *Report on the Excavations at Wick Barrow, Stogursey, Somersetshire*. Taunton, 1908.) The same author in his careful memoir cites as a parallel from the British Islands a circular wall, apparently of 12 ft. 7 ins. radius and about 4 feet high, built of somewhat heavy blocks that were found within the "horned" cairn of Ormiegill, Caithness; while round various British long barrows dry-walling occurs, or even in short lengths within them. He likewise compares a walled enclosure, surrounding a stone cairn, that was discovered within a barrow at Asbo, Ribe County, Jutland, Denmark, and two similar wall-circles existing within tumuli in the district of Jaederen, Norway, all three examples dating from the Early Bronze Age. (Gray, *ib.*, 53-9.) We are, perhaps, justified on the strength of these analogies in provisionally assigning La Hougue de Vinde to the same period, more especially in view of its position on ground which commands an unobstructed sea-prospect, a situation common to Wick Barrow and various Scandinavian burial sites of the Bronze Age. (Cf. Gray, *ib.*, 9 and 60.)

Herewith are a view of the inside of the barrow, looking east, which was kindly taken for us by Mr. E. Guiton, and a sketch plan showing the outer rubble wall and the inner ring of stones. The earth excavated has not been replaced, and this inner ring is consequently to be seen and studied in the state in which it was discovered.

R. R. MARETT.

G. F. B. DE GRUCHY.

Australia.

Brown.

The Relationship System of the Dieri Tribe. By A. R. Brown.**33**

In Howitt's description of the relationship system of the Dieri tribe in *Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, there are one or two errors, and a number of obscurities that are possibly due to errors.

In the second paragraph on p. 166, referring to the numbers of the genealogical table, Howitt writes, "No. 1 is the *Kaka* of 13-14 and 15-16. No. 2 is in the same "relation to them, because he is in the relation of *Ngaperi* to them." This sentence as it stands is nonsense. *Kaka* is "mother's brother" and *ngaperi* is "father." The statement that a man is mother's brother to another because he is also father to him does not seem to have any meaning. I cannot guess what Howitt may have meant to write.

In the same paragraph a little further on, we find the following sentence, "This man No. 13 is also the *Kaka* of 39 and 40, under the *Kanini* arrangement, "because their mother is the sister of the woman No. 3, the mother of 13, and "therefore stands in the relation of *Ngandri* to him." This sentence as it stands is also meaningless, but the correction in this case is a simple one. It should read "because their *mother's mother* is the sister," etc.

In the paragraph at the foot of p. 162, Howitt writes that "the children of a "woman are considered as being the younger brothers and sisters (*Ngatata*) of her "father. Moreover, this carries with it all the consequential relationships." If this statement be correct it introduces the most astonishing confusion into the Dieri relationship system. If I belong to the *Kararu* division of the tribe my brothers and sisters (*neyi*, *kaku*, and *ngatata*) all belong to the same division. On the other hand, my mother's father belongs to the *Matteri* division. It seems unlikely, on the face of it, that the use of the term *neyi* should be so extended that I can apply it to men of the opposite division to my own.

Moreover, Howitt says that the relationship carries with it all the consequential relationships. Some of these are as follows:—

(1) I am father (*ngaperi*) to my mother's brother, since my mother's father is his father and is also my brother.

(2) I am brother to my wife. I am *ngatata* (younger brother) to my mother's father, and therefore to my mother's father's sister. My mother's father's sister is elder sister (*kaku*) to my *noa* (mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter) these two being *kanini-kaku* and *kanini-ngatata* to one another (Howitt, p. 163). As the woman I must marry is my mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (my *noa*) it follows that any woman whom I may marry is my sister.

(3) I am similarly *noa* (potential husband) to my sister.

It is unnecessary to trace out all the relationships that would follow from Howitt's statement quoted above. The three examples given are sufficient to show that if that statement be correct the Dieri relationships are very complicated and contradictory.

It seems to me that a state of affairs in which I am brother to my wife, husband to my sister, father to my mother's brother, &c., is improbable, and that Howitt's statement is wrong. I would suggest that the sentence quoted should read, "The "children of a *man* are considered as being the younger brothers and sisters of *his* "father, and this carries with it all the consequential relationships," or alternatively "the children of a *woman* are considered as being the younger brothers and sisters "of *her mother*, etc."

As the basis of the proposed emendation I have made the assumption that a man only applies the terms brother and sister to persons of the same division as himself. Thus, if I belong to the *Kararu* division, I apply the terms for brother

and sister to the men and women of my own generation who belong to the same (i.e., the *Kararu*) division. The peculiar feature of the Dieri system is that I also apply the same terms (brother and sister), in a looser way, to some of my grandparents. Now it seems on the whole probable that the grandparents to whom I should apply the terms would be those of the same division as myself. These are four in number, father's father (*yenku*), father's father's sister, mother's mother (*kanini*), and mother's mother's brother (*kanini*). We know from Howitt that a man does regard his *kanini* (mother's mother and her brother) as his elder brother and sister (see p. 163). We are not told that a man is also regarded as the younger brother of his father's father (*yenku*), but it seems probable that this is so.

If this emendation be accepted the Dieri system is very simple and easy to understand. I apply the terms *neyi* and *haku* in the first place to my brothers and sisters and to my father's brother's sons and daughters, i.e., to the men and women of my own division and of my own generation. In a more extended use of the terms I apply them to the men and women of my own division who belong to the generation of my grandparents, i.e., to my father's father and my mother's mother and their brothers and sisters. I do not, however, apply these terms to men and women of the other division, such as my father's mother.

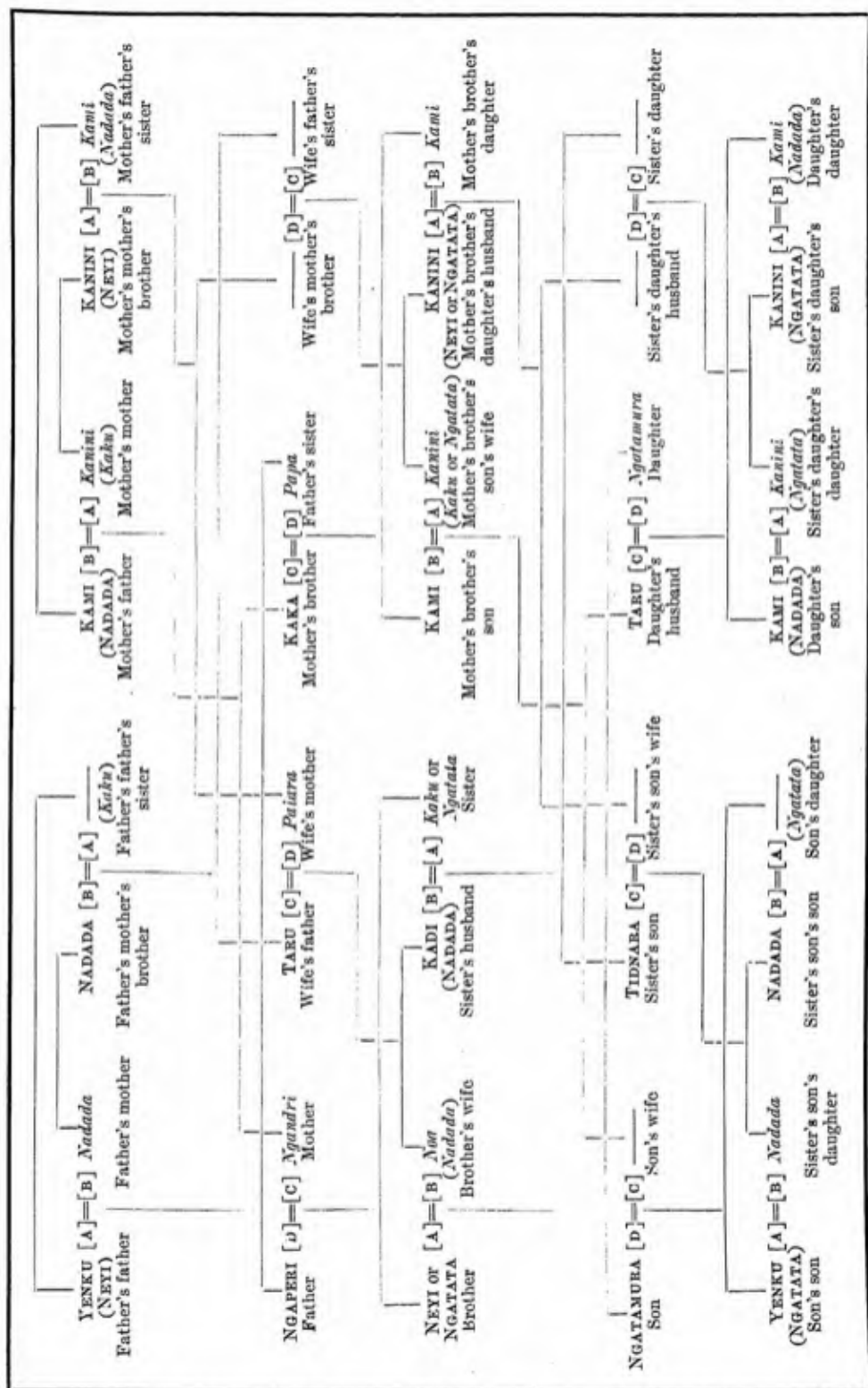
Another suggestion that I wish to make is concerned with the term *nadada*, which Howitt never precisely defines. On p. 160 he translates *nadada* as meaning "mother's father," and this is repeated on p. 162. The more usual term for "mother's father" is *kami*, as stated on p. 164, fifth line from the bottom. (In the list of terms on p. 160 the "mother father's" opposite *kami* should obviously be "mother's father.") The question at once arises why there should be two terms, *kami* and *nadada*, both applicable to the same relative (mother's father). We learn from Howitt that *kami* is applicable to a mother's father, mother's father's brother, mother's brother's son and daughter, and daughter's son and daughter (female speaking), or sister's daughter's son and daughter (male speaking). A man may not marry a woman who is his *kami*, and therefore the term *kami* may not be applied to a *noa* (mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter). We learn that the term *nadada* is applicable to a mother's father, mother's father's brother, daughter's son and daughter (female speaking), sister's daughter's son and daughter (male speaking), and also to a mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter (*noa*). This last relationship is explained by Howitt in connection with the statement of the natives that "those who are *noa* are *nadada* to each other." It is obvious, therefore, that the term *nadada* is not simply an equivalent for *kami*, since my *noa* is my *nadada* but is not my *kami*.

I venture to suggest that the term *nadada* is really the term for "father's mother" and "father's mother's brother," and that it is only used in a looser and more extended sense to apply to a mother's father.

It is then easy to see how it comes about that all *noa* are *nadada*. I am younger brother (*ngatata*) to my father's father's sister, and she is *nadada* (father's mother) to the woman I call *noa*. It follows that as I am brother to the *nadada* of my *noa* I am *nadada* to the latter and she is *nadada* to me. Howitt shows the same thing by taking other relatives. I am younger brother (*ngatata*) to my mother's mother's brother (*kanini*), who is *kami-nadada* to my *noa* (his daughter's daughter), and I am therefore also *nadada* to her.

If this suggestion be accepted it shows us that the Dieri system is wonderfully simple and logical, and quite in agreement with other systems of Australia. This may be seen from the accompanying genealogical table, which is compiled on the assumption that the suggestions made in this note are correct.

It may be worth while to point out on this occasion how clearly the system



of relationship proves the existence of the four matrimonial classes in the Dieri tribe.* As the classes are not named we may denote them by the letters A, B, C, D, the classes A and C forming the division *Kararu*, and the classes B and D forming the division *Matteri*. If I belong to the division *Kararu* and the class A, then that class consists of the men and women I call *yenku*, *neyi*, *kaku*, *ngatata*, and *kanini*. The class C (the other class of my own division) is composed of the men and women whom I call *ngandri*, *kaka*, *taru*, and *tidnara*. The class B, from which I must take my wife, contains the relatives whom I call *nadada*, *kami*, *noa*, and *kadi*. The class D (which is the class of my father) contains the relatives I call *ngaperi*, *papa*, *paiara*, and *ngatamura*.

Stating in terms of the class system the suggestions made in this note, they are that a man of the class A applies the terms *neyi*, *kaku*, and *ngatata* (brother and sister) only to persons of his own class, and applies the term *nadada* only to persons of the class B from which he must take his wife.

A. R. BROWN.

REVIEW.

Melanesia : Migrations.

Friederici.

Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse einer amtlichen Forschungsreise nach dem Bismarck-Archipel im Jahre 1908. Untersuchungen über eine Melanesische Wanderstrasse. Von Dr. Georg Friederici, Hauptmann, A. D. Mit einer Karte. Wissenschaftliche Beiheft zum Deutschen Kolonialblatte. Mitteilungen aus dem Deutschen Schutzgebieten. Ergänzungsheft, Nr. 7. Berlin, 1913.

34

In the second volume of the "Scientific Results" of the Hanseatic South-Sea Expedition of 1908, Dr. G. Friederici gave for the first time a comprehensive account of the ethnography and linguistics of the Bismarck Archipelago. (See MAN, 1912, No. 110.) This showed a good deal of relationship between the arts and languages of the archipelago and those of Eastern Indonesia, and the purpose of the present and third volume of the series is systematically to set forth the evidence for the theory of a Melanesian Wander-Stream from the West.

The Melanesians are regarded as having come from that part of Indonesia which extends from the Southern Islands of the Philippine group, through the Minahasa peninsula of Celebes, to the Moluccas in the neighbourhood of Buru and Ceram. From the Moluccan region they passed north of New Guinea to the region about Vitiaz and Dampier Straits, which Dr. Friederici regards as the gateways of Melanesia. In this region they colonised the northern shores of New Pommern, and part of the swarm, passing through Vitiaz Strait, settled along the eastern and south-eastern shores of New Guinea. Another stream through Dampier Strait passed to the Northern Louisiades, Southern Solomons, and Northern New Hebrides. The Philippine or sub-Philippine stream took a more northerly route, going by the Admiralty group to New Hannover, East New Mecklenburg, and the Solomons.

The main evidence adduced by Dr. Friederici is linguistic, though he fully recognises its limitations in view of the very great variations in the physical characters and culture of the peoples discussed. But he maintains that a close likeness in the

* It has been assumed by many writers (Howitt, Frazer, Thomas, Schmidt, etc.) that because the four matrimonial classes are not named in some Australian tribes, such as the Dieri, that they therefore do not exist. This assumption is entirely unjustifiable, and I do not know that any of these writers has attempted to justify it. By matrimonial classes I mean divisions of a tribe such as those named Ippai, Kubbi, Kumbo, and Murri in the Kamilaroi tribe. There is not a scrap of evidence at present for the existence in Australia of any tribe which has not four divisions of this kind, though in many tribes there seem to be no distinctive names for them. The four classes certainly do exist in some tribes in which they are not named, as the Luridya (southern branch), Arabana (Urabunna), Dieri, Wathi-wathi, Tyap-warong, and probably also the Narrinyeri and Kurnai.

grammatical structure of the languages of two regions, with a considerable amount of agreement in the vocabulary, is evidence that the speakers of the common language reached both places. Hence he shows that the languages of the Barriai district of New Pommern, as well as those of the Melanesians of New Guinea, have a remarkable likeness in grammar and part of their word store to the Bahasa Tana of the Alfuru (or inlanders) of Ceram, and part also of their word store in common with the dialects of Minahasa. This indicates a common foundation for the languages of Ceram and Minahasa from which the Barriai and its relatives have been derived.

The grammatical evidence is discussed in detail. Especially striking are the remarkable and similar variations in phonology in both regions, the correspondence in personal, possessive, and interrogative pronouns, in the position of the adjective, and in the particles and syntax of the verb. Many of the common characteristics are shown to extend to the languages of New Guinea, the Solomons, and New Hebrides. The position of the genitive, which in some languages precedes and in others follows the governing word, is regarded as important. Dr. Friederici's conclusion is that the Melanesians in general brought their own (*preceding*) genitive construction from their old home in the Moluccan region, but this has been changed in some places through the influence of the swarm coming from the Sub-Philippine region, who used the other (*following*) genitive construction. This influence is evident in New Hannover and East New Mecklenburg, and extended partly to the Solomons and New Hebrides.

The agreements in vocabulary are illustrated by a tabular arrangement of 117 words in seven language groups. The latter include on the Indonesian side: 1. The Bahasa Tana and Alfuru of Ceram. 2. The Alfuru of Buru. 3. The Alfuru of North-east Celebes. On the Melanesian side are grouped: 1. The Barriai and related dialects of New Pommern. 2. The Western Papuo-Melanesians of New Guinea. 3. The Solomon Islands. 4. The Northern New Hebrides. Extensive explanatory and illustrative notes follow the tables, with many details of the Bismarck Archipelago languages.

But although his argument is mainly linguistic, Dr. Friederici has by no means neglected the ethnographical side. This was partly worked out in the second volume, and in the present book there is an important summary discussion on the distribution of houses, weapons, and other artifacts. These are shown generally to support the theory based on the languages.

The connection of the Melanesians with Indonesia by way of the Vitiaz and Dampier Straits may be regarded as established by Dr. Friederici's evidence. The details of their dispersion among the islands is a problem of the future. The book shows evidence of very extensive study and inquiry, and, even apart from the theory involved, will form a most useful work for the illustration of the languages and material arts and crafts of Northern Melanesia.

An index and a more extended linguistic map than that of New Mecklenburg contained in the second volume would have increased the use and value of the work. The present volume contains a map showing the routes of the migrations and the limits of the two kinds of genitive construction.

SIDNEY H. RAY.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Anthropological Teaching in the Universities.

At the recent meeting in Birmingham of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the President of Section H, Sir Richard Temple, initiated a discussion on the practical application of anthropological teaching in Universities.

Distinguished administrators, such as the Governor-General of the Sudan, Lient.-General Sir Reginald Wingate, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir Frank Swettenham, G.C.M.G., and Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., C.B., strongly

supported the view that the most important qualifications for success in dealing in any capacity with peoples of alien culture are insight into and knowledge of the habits, customs, and ideas governing the conduct of those peoples. No less cordial was their agreement with the opinion that this necessary knowledge can be, and therefore ought to be, taught to all those whose careers place them amid the non-European races of the Empire, whether as members of the Civil and Military Services of the Crown, or as representatives of other Imperial interests, as merchants, missionaries, colonists, or as engaged in the various other forms of commercial enterprise upon the success of which the material prosperity of the Empire depends.

These views are supported by the recent Royal Commission on University Education in London, in whose report it is stated that, "It is almost as important that officials, and others intending to spend their lives in the East, or in parts of the Empire inhabited by non-European races, should have a knowledge of their racial characteristics as that they should be acquainted with their speech, and we believe that the Colonial Office shares this view."

A committee was appointed by the British Association for the purpose of devising practical measures for the organisation of anthropological teaching at the Universities in Great Britain and Ireland. With this committee was associated a committee appointed by the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute. These committees met in joint session under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Temple, and after thoroughly examining the question in all its aspects arrived at the following opinions:—

- (1) An accurate acquaintance with the nature, habits, and customs of alien populations is necessary to all who have to live and work amongst them in any official capacity, whether as administrators, executive officers, missionaries, or merchants, because in order to deal effectively with any group of mankind it is essential to have that cultured sympathy with them that comes of sure knowledge.
- (2) Such knowledge in a considerable though varying degree is actually acquired by all who attain success in their work as the result of individual capacity and application.
- (3) The attainment of the degree of knowledge reached in such cases is a slow process occupying many years, because it has to be learnt empirically by persons without training in the correct methods of learning.
- (4) In the case of administrators and officials, the people whose lives they control may and do suffer while they are learning, and thus in the absence of previous anthropological training their knowledge is gained at the people's expense.
- (5) In the case of missionaries and merchants, they cannot deal efficiently with the people to whom they are accredited until they have mastered the requisite knowledge about them, which, without previous anthropological training, can only be gained at the expense of those who have sent them abroad.
- (6) The science of Anthropology as now studied is a system of pursuing inquiries so as to arrive at a sure knowledge of the physical and mental development of groups of mankind, and the teaching of correct methods based on the continuous experience of expert scholars.
- (7) The science inculcates in students habits of accurate observation of the matters which it is useful to observe and of making correct deductions therefrom, and thus it enables them to arrive at the sure knowledge required in the shortest possible time.

And resolved that—

- (a) It is necessary to organise the systematic teaching of Anthropology to persons either about to proceed to or actually working in those parts of the British Empire which contain populations alien to the British people.
- (b) The organisation can best be dealt with by the collaboration of the Royal Anthropological Institute, the British Association, and the Universities, with the support and co-operation of the Government, the Foreign Office, the India Office, the Colonial Office, and the Civil Service Commissioners.
- (c) It would be well for the organisation to take the form of encouraging the existing Schools of Anthropology at the Universities and the formation of such schools where none exist.
- (d) As laboratories, a library, and a museum, readily available for teaching students, are indispensable adjuncts to each school, it is desirable to encourage their formation where they are not already in existence.

By the courtesy of the Master and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of the City of London, a Conference to consider the findings and recommendations of the Joint Committee was held in the Hall of that Company on the afternoon of the 19th February 1914. The President of the Conference was the Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne, K.G., G.C.M.G., D.C.L. Among those who accepted invitations to be present were :—

- The Right Hon. Ameer Ali, LL.D., C.I.E. (Privy Council).
- Henry Balfour, Esq. (Curator, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford).
- C. O. Blagden, Esq. (Royal Asiatic Society).
- J. A. Bryce, Esq., M.P.
- Sir Edward Busk (Chairman of Convocation, University of London).
- Captain Muirhead Collins, C.M.G. (Acting Agent-General, Australia).
- Sir Henry Craik, K.C.B., M.P.
- Major R. L. Cummins, R.A.M.C.
- Laurence Currie, Esq. (India Council).
- S. Digby, Esq., C.I.E. (Royal Society of Arts).
- W. L. H. Duckworth, Esq., M.D. (representing the University of Cambridge).
- J. Edge-Partington, Esq. (Trustee, R.A.I.).
- Dr. J. D. Falconer (representing the University of Glasgow).
- Dr. L. R. Farnell (Rector of Exeter College, Oxford).
- Dr. E. Fawcett (representing the University of Bristol).
- Alexander Fiddian, Esq. (representing the Colonial Office).
- Professor H. J. Fleure (University College of Wales).
- Professor J. G. Frazer, D.C.L. (representing the British Science Guild).
- Dr. T. Gregory Foster (Provost of University College, London).
- Sir Krishna G. Gupta, K.C.S.I. (India Council).
- Dr. Haddon, F.R.S. (University Reader in Ethnology, Cambridge).
- Dr. Harrison (Horniman Museum).
- P. J. Hartog, Esq. (University of London).
- Professor Hepburn, M.D. (representing the University College of South Wales).
- Professor W. A. Herdman, F.R.S. (representing the University of Liverpool).
- Dr. W. P. Herringham (Vice-Chancellor, representing the University of London).
- Sir Everard im Thurn, K.C.M.G., C.B. (representing the Royal Geographical Society).
- Sir John Jardine, K.C.I.E., M.P.
- Hon. J. G. Jenkins (representing the London Chamber of Commerce).

Sir Harry Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

T. A. Joyce, Esq. (British Museum).

Professor Arthur Keith, F.R.S., President R.A.I. (representing the University of Aberdeen).

H. G. A. Leveson, Esq., I.C.S. (Burma Commission).

Sidney Low, Esq. (King's College, London).

Sir Charles Lyall, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (representing the Royal Asiatic Society).

Dr. J. Mackay (University College, Dundee).

H. J. Mackinder, Esq., M.P.

Sir Philip Magnus, M.P. (London University).

Dr. R. R. Marett (Reader in Social Anthropology, University of Oxford).

Sir Richard Martin, Bart. (Trustee, R.A.I.).

Sir Henry Miers, F.R.S. (Principal, University of London).

Robert Mond, Esq. (representing the British Science Guild).

Colonel Sir Matthew Nathan, G.C.M.G. (representing the African Society).

Professor Carveth Read (University College, London).

Sir Hercules Read, P.S.A. (British Museum).

Sir J. D. Rees, K.C.I.E., C.V.O., M.P.

Hon. Pember Reeves (London School of Economics).

Professor Ridgeway (Disney Professor of Archaeology in the University of Cambridge).

Sir George S. Robertson, K.C.S.I., M.P.

Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bart., C.I.E.

Dr. W. H. Rivers F.R.S. (University of Cambridge).

Dr. H. W. Marett Tims (Bedford College for Women).

Lieut.-Colonel L. A. Waddell, C.B., C.I.E.

Dr. T. H. Warren (President, Magdalen College, representing the University of Oxford).

S. H. Warren, Esq.

Professor D. Waterston (representing King's College, London).

Professor F. E. Weiss (Vice-Chancellor, representing the University of Manchester).

Sir James Wilson, K.C.S.I.

Letters of regret at their inability to be present at the Conference, and conveying expressions of sympathy with the purpose of the Conference, were received from Sir Frank Forbes Adam, C.I.E., the Right Hon. Sir William Anson, Bart., M.P., Professor T. W. Arnold, C.I.E., the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, M.P., Professor W. Bateson, F.R.S., Sir Robert Blair, Professor T. H. Bryce, the Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P., Professor H. E. Egerton, Professor A. J. Herbertson, Professor W. A. Herdman, F.R.S., Sir Philip Magnus, M.P., Sir Harry Reichel, Professor R. W. Reid, the Right Hon. Sir John Rhys, Sir Frank Swettenham, G.C.M.G., Professor Peter Thompson, Sir William Turner, and Dr. F. Westbrook.

LORD CROMER wrote: I regret that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Anthropological Institute. For reasons based on the state of my health, I have been obliged almost entirely to give up attendance at public meetings. I sympathise, however, with the objects which the Institute has in view. It is, of course, of importance that students of the School of Oriental Languages, which will, I hope, be in operation a year hence, should be provided with instruction not merely in languages, but also in other subjects which come more especially within the purview of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

SIR GEORGE GRIERSON pointed out that in former times Government officers in India could content themselves with issuing orders and seeing that they were carried

out. They had to say "Go," and people "went." But of late years, with the spread of education, this has changed. Officers have to lead, not to drive. They have to say, "Come," and there is danger of their not being followed if they do not issue their orders with sympathy and with an understanding mind. In order to understand ever so little the thoughts and prejudices of the Indian masses, an acquaintance with Anthropology is most necessary. It alone can save an Englishman from treating natives of India as if they too were English, and as if their habits and customs of thought were the same as his own. The most successful administrators of India have all been Anthropologists, even if they did not know it. In his opinion, if all executive officers and all judicial officers, from Judges of the High Courts down to Assistant Magistrates, made more use of principles based on the study of Anthropology, and less of principles based on legal technicalities imported from England, India would be a country better governed than it is at present. We should then have greater chances of securing not only the obedience, but also the affection of our Indian fellow subjects of His Majesty.

SIR HARRY JOHNSTON urged the view that anthropological research on the part of many of our Colonial officials is often hindered, *not* through lack of sympathy at the Colonial Office, but because an appreciation of Anthropology has not yet penetrated through all ranks of Colonial officials. There are still a few—in Africa mostly—who think Anthropology is a ridiculous new-fangled craze, instead of being a study of basic importance, and who discourage their subordinates from spending any of their spare time in this pursuit. This is why the desire of the Colonial Office for the encouragement of anthropological research is sometimes baulked, while the public wonders why we know so little of our remote dependencies.

SIR JOSEPH LARMOR, M.P., F.R.S., wrote that beyond the obvious advantages desirable in public administration, we simply cannot afford in this age to be apathetic with regard to the advancement of learning in matters in which we have exceptional opportunities, and in which the nations are keenly and practically interested. National self-respect forbids us to lag behind.

SIR ERNEST TREVELYAN quite agreed that some study of Anthropology would be invaluable to an I.C.S. probationer. The difficulty is to find time for it under existing arrangements. Should the period of probation be extended it would be possible to do something in this direction.

SIR HENRY CRAIK, K.C.B., LL.D., M.P.: My Lord Selborne and Gentlemen, it is with a great deal of diffidence that I rise to move this first resolution. My diffidence arises from the feeling that I, an ignoramus, am speaking amongst those who know something most thoroughly, and especially in the presence of one who, like the organiser of this meeting, Sir Richard Temple, has not only given to it long years and much brain work, but has the advantage of a ripened experience of the subject in other countries. I speak, My Lord, only as the representative of two Universities, both of them deeply interested in the question. Both of these Universities send out more than their share of men who are to carry the "white man's burden" in distant parts of the Empire, and for these Universities it is of supreme importance that the equipment should be thorough.

Now, I would not advocate this cause if it were merely to add another subject to the vast mass of competitive subjects which is now our fetish in the examination of those who are to serve in the Empire. I would certainly not do that, nor do I wish to crowd an already crowded curriculum with some new subjects. Just as little do I wish to set aside that marvellous insight and the marvellous power that our countrymen possess of adapting themselves to conditions, however strange, and

of finding some innate, inborn talent that teaches them to be masters amongst the men in the midst of whom their lot is cast.

Nothing is more astonishing than to see how an Englishman or a Scotchman rises to the occasion by some native grit in his constitution. I know that teaching will not supply that inborn quality, but it does not follow that teaching may not greatly help it.

We all recognise amongst ourselves how dangerous it would be to try to mix with people without knowing something of the racial, the physical differences, the differences of history and tradition, that divide race from race in the strange medley of families that make up the human species. I do not suppose that a foreigner would find it very easy to go into Ireland and speak exactly in the same way in the south of Ireland and in Ulster at present without some little instruction as to the differences of race, religion, tradition, and feeling.

And with regard to my own native country, Scotland, we are accustomed sometimes to find errors made. It is not 100 years ago since the ordinary Englishman thought of Scotland as a place where everybody alike wore the kilt and spoke as his native language Gaelic. They forgot the fact that there were two races in Scotland who had been enemies for centuries, who were drawn from different sources, and who were as widely distinct from one another as almost any of the races within the British Empire.

And even now, I doubt if the ordinary English traveller does not mass in an easy totality all the islands that surround Scotland as being more or less Celtic, and the Western Hebrides. Take care of that. If you go to the Orkneys and Shetland you will find that nothing annoys an Orcadian or a Shetland man more than being called a Scotchman. I learned that a long while ago when I used to go there to open their schools or to give their prizes. They are not Scotchmen, they are pure Scandinavian, and nothing makes them more uncomfortable than to be identified above all with the Celt, towards whom they have no very congenial feeling.

So much for ourselves. But when they go among races entirely ignorant of us, who have perhaps in more acute form these sensitivities of which we ourselves are aware, it is surprising that those young men who go out from among us make so few mistakes as they do. (Hear, hear.)

Is it very easy in South Africa for the young men to distinguish the absolute racial differences between the Zulu and the Mashonaland native? Is it easy in Northern Africa to distinguish between the Berber absolutely fitted for domestic service, the pure negro, as the Dinka, and the man with Arab blood, Arab ideas, and Arab traditions, as the finer races of the Sudan? And in India is not the difficulty vastly greater?

We see the pitfalls; we see the difficulties; we recognise the enormous pluck, the tact, the inborn qualities of our race, that enable so many of our young men to overcome these difficulties, but it does not follow that it is not our duty, our duty both as the leaders in educational work and as responsible for our share in the work of the State, to help them further, to give them those ideas which they might get in an atmosphere where this was pursued as a science.

As one who represents many of those young men going out to take up the burden of Empire in its distant parts, I ask for them that they should have the opportunities which are of such enormous advantage, the atmosphere created by a School of Anthropology amongst them. Do not burden them with examinations or by competitions; bring them in contact with practical teaching; bring them in contact with men who know about the subject and who may guide them in that way, and thereby make more easy the difficult and dark paths that they have to tread. They have just to trust to empirical knowledge, gained painfully, gained perhaps by the loss

of prestige for themselves, and perhaps by injury worked upon the native races for which they are responsible. You have to help that empirical knowledge by giving them some light upon the difficulties that they will have to face, some sympathy in the work which they will have to do, some instruction by contact with men who have pursued and are masters of the science of the subject and can hold out to them a guiding hand which will save them, not only endless mistakes, but endless labour, loss of time, and, perhaps, loss of energy and hopeless confusion.

It is for these reasons, my Lord, that I claim help for the Universities which have tried to do their work to advance this branch of science in its physiological side, in its historical side, in its side of tradition, of custom, and manner of investigation of customs, manners, and religion. They have tried to do their work. I claim for them the help that might come from the great State authorities whose work they are preparing men to do. No money could be better spent than by encouraging the work which the Universities are ready to undertake and have made an attempt to undertake; no expenditure would be better repaid than any expenditure which the State is prepared to make in aiding them. I beg to move the resolution which stands in my name, as follows:—

"That this Conference approves the findings and views of the Joint Committee, and is of opinion that, in the highest interests of the Empire, it is necessary so to extend and complete the organisation of the teaching of Anthropology at the Universities of Great Britain, that those who are about to spend their lives in the East or in parts of the Empire inhabited by non-European races, shall at the outset of their career possess or have the opportunity of acquiring a sound and accurate knowledge of the habits, customs, social and religious ideas and ideals of the Eastern and non-European races subject to His Majesty the King Emperor."

SIR EVERARD F. IM THURN, K.C.M.G., C.B.: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion which has been made by Sir Henry Craik. I am here to-day as an empirical, anthropological administrator, who has for some thirty years or more had to learn for himself how to administer in certain distant parts of the Empire. The fates arranged that my whole active life should be a sort of experiment in which I played the part of *corpus vile*; a sort of experiment to prove to me the urgent Imperial necessity of good, systematic, anthropological training for the young men that go out from us to the distant parts of the world, British young men, not only as administrators but as missionaries and as traders, and in any other capacity where it becomes their duty to advance, no doubt sometimes in the first place their own interests, but ultimately the interests of this Empire in which we are all so deeply interested.

I started in life before the days when Anthropology had reached the stage of a definite science. I had, however, two advantages which all young men of my time probably had not. First of all I was from the first especially and deeply interested in Natural History, and chiefly the Natural History of Man, and secondly I had as the very kindest of friends and guides my very old friend and master, Sir Edward Tylor, to whom I could always refer in any difficulty.

After leaving Oxford I fell almost by chance into the position of Curator of a small and not very important museum in one of our tropical Colonies, British Guiana, and attached to the appointment was a very attractive condition, that I was to travel for half each year in the interior to collect for the museum. As soon as I began to travel I found that the most interesting part of the Natural History was that of the red man among whom I lived, and with whom I made really great friends; and so after a few years, when the Government wanted a Magistrate for those interior parts, they took me, and then I started on the career of administration, but, always

excepting what Sir Edward Tylor could tell me, I had to learn practically everything for myself. That went on for twenty years in British Guiana, afterwards in other places, and finally for seven years in the South Sea Islands.

It is not for me to estimate how far I succeeded, but I do know this, and I say it most emphatically, as one of the chief lessons I have learned from my life, that if I had started with the sort of anthropological training which is now to some extent possible to get at the Universities and elsewhere in England, and which we hope, as the result of this meeting, will be fully organised for the purpose, I know I should have succeeded much better.

So far I have been speaking personally, but I am here to-day in a double capacity. I also, at the request of the President, came here as representing the Royal Geographical Society to express the interest of that Society in this question of anthropological training. As you all know, there are a great many men who go out to the most distant parts of the world under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, who should get, and do endeavour to get as far as they can, preliminary training in a great many different subjects, all more or less allied, I might almost say subsidiary, to geography. Of course, it is to the interest of all of us, the interest of knowledge in general, that those travellers should have sufficient knowledge to understand what they see, and to report the anthropological facts that they see, but further than that, it is of enormous advantage to themselves that these travellers should have a preliminary training in Anthropology.

The whole success of life in these distant parts of the world—and as you will have perceived, I have been talking of the more primitive places—depends upon one's knowledge and understanding of the natives, and consequently one's power of managing them in a friendly sort of way. That is why from the Royal Geographical Society I bring a message to this meeting of sympathy with this motion, which I hope will be enthusiastically carried.

SIR CHARLES J. LYALL, K.C.S.I., C.LE. (representative of the Royal Asiatic Society): My Lord and Gentlemen, I have been suddenly called upon to speak to this motion, but my whole heart goes with it. I have not had time to supply myself with the language needful for enforcing the doctrines that it preaches by a perusal of the publications of our friend, Sir Richard Temple, but after thirty years' experience in India, of which a large portion was spent in remote parts, and in my opinion the most interesting corner of that great Dominion, namely, the Province of Assam, I am here as a witness to the immense importance of a systematic study of anthropological subjects.

In that part of India there are more languages crowded together into a small space of country than in the whole of the rest of that vast territory. There are more different races; their habits are of a most extraordinary and unusual character, and unless one makes a study of them one cannot possibly administer the country with any prospect of success.

But, although that is the case in these remote parts of India, where materials are constantly occurring for study, I would plead for the whole of that great Dominion, where civilisation has had its roots for hundreds, I might say thousands of years. There is equal need there of a systematic anthropological study of the conditions. Unless we understand, and know, and sympathise, we cannot possibly do good. That is the very first principle of our administration. I most heartily support the resolution that has been put before you, and I trust that the outcome of it will be a systematic arrangement for the study of Anthropology by all those who go out to India or to the rest of our dominions for the purpose of administration, for exploration, for commerce, or for missionary labours. (Cheers.)

PROFESSOR ARTHUR KEITH, Aberdeen (Royal Anthropological Institute): My Lord, I rise to speak to this resolution as President of the Royal Anthropological Institute. I also represent Aberdeen University, but it is as President of the Institute I should like to speak to this motion, and as President of that Institute I claim that, during the thirty years and more that we have been pressing the Government to consider this matter, the Institute has taken a very disinterested view. These fifty years and more it has been seeking to collect that information we want to put at the disposal of young men who go abroad. We ask for no help ourselves, but we can see that if this subject is really going to grow it must be planted in our Universities.

The instance that Sir Everard im Thurn has given of himself shows how much could be done if we kindled ever so small a lamp at each University.

I sat near Professor Baldwin Spencer the other day, the man who has opened up the whole of what knowledge we have of the native life of Australia; knowledge which is of infinite value not only to the world as a whole, but particularly to the Government of Australia. He has put at their hand a knowledge which they otherwise could not have had. I said to him, "You are a Zoologist; how did you think of taking up Anthropology?" He said it was due to Tylor, of Oxford: "Thank God he was there. Just a light and he got us all going; just that little touch did it." It is just that little touch that we want to put into all the Universities of this country; to set a flame going all the world over.

It is a thing in which the Government must help. I know that time is brief, and I do not want to dilate on anything, but now I am in a position to see the enormous good that could come out of this resolution. I am in a position to see young men coming home from abroad who have been out in the Colonies, and they say, "Oh, goodness; I wish I had known something of this before I went out; there, I have missed the opportunities, not of gaining knowledge, but useful information; information which might be of use to the men going out after me." That is what we want; we want to systematise all the information which is being gleaned, and to put that information at the disposal of every young man who is going abroad; and, therefore, I do think that the Government must see to it that that information is supplied to every graduate of a University. Therefore it is with the greatest goodwill that, as President of the oldest and the leading Anthropological Institution of this country, I would beg to forward this movement with all my heart. (Cheers.)

MR. J. G. JENKINS (Australia): My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I have very few words to say, but I was exceedingly interested in the words which have just fallen from Professor Keith, because I was Minister of Education in the South Australian Government, and also Minister in charge of the Postal Department, when the arrangements were made for Professor Baldwin Spencer to be accompanied by Mr. Gillen, whose name will be well known for his work in conjunction with Professor Baldwin Spencer. If it had not been for the aid of the Government there at the time, that information that has been gathered since, probably would not have been gathered at all. Mr. Gillen was a Government official who had been some twenty odd years in the very interior of Australia, and by his own experience and study of the natives had gathered a large amount of information, and, working in conjunction with Professor Baldwin Spencer, visited the various tribes through Australia and gleaned a great amount of information.

The South Australian Government at the time granted the necessary financial assistance to allow Mr. Gillen to go with Professor Baldwin Spencer and do this work. Since that time, Professor Baldwin Spencer has been allowed, and assisted financially by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, further to develop his studies in connection with the tribes, and I am sure all those who had the pleasure of hearing Professor Baldwin Spencer in the lecture that he gave (over which Professor Arthur

Keith presided a few days ago) will know the vast amount of information that has been gathered, and recognise that it would have been absolutely impossible to have gleaned it in relation to the aboriginals of Australia had not some such effort taken place.

I would like to say just one word, as I am representing the London Chamber of Commerce here, from a commercial point of view. There are millions of pounds practically being wasted in the British Empire by commercial institutions and firms sending into the various parts men who have but little or no knowledge of the people they go amongst, and they really have to waste the money of the firms and the companies that send them in acquiring a knowledge of the natives. (Cheers.)

Some years ago I went through British New Guinea, or Papua as it is now called. They have as many languages amongst the natives as they have tribes, a fact which is the salvation of the white settlers there, because if the tribes were all of one language they would probably have wiped out the whites years ago. There you can see at every one of their tropical islands and tropical places how the commercial man is learning the nature and the customs of the natives at the expense of the company that is sending him there. You will see how the missionaries are destroying, during the first two or three years, any advantage that they ought to have over the natives by an absolute ignorance of the natives amongst whom they are working. In travelling through any of these islands in any of the places where primitive men exist, you cannot fail to see the necessity for some such work as this that you are attempting to carry out. I most heartily support, from a commercial point of view, from a missionary point of view, and from an educational point of view, the proposition that is placed upon the paper. (Cheers.)

MR. ROBERT MOND (representing the British Science Guild): My Lord, I have been requested, together with Professor Frazer, to represent the British Science Guild, and to tell you how very heartily they are in sympathy with this proposal. As you may be aware, the British Science Guild has been formed in order to spread the use and application of science throughout this country, and it is just in this study of Anthropology as applied to the more backward races that one of the best uses of science can be made.

If you consider that this Empire covers one-third of the world and rules about one-fifth of its inhabitants, it is perfectly self-evident that this stupendous task can only be accomplished by a thorough knowledge of the problems which are involved. We try to solve it by sending out extremely competent, extremely able young men—a large number of whom I have had the great pleasure of meeting—with the best intentions in the world, and with a very high standard of ideals, who rise fully up to the enormous responsibilities which are thrust upon their shoulders, and who are handicapped by an absolute ignorance of the conditions they are meant to meet.

It is really our business to see that these young people whom we send out to do the work for us should not be handicapped by this ignorance. It is our duty to prevent their being so handicapped, and I feel certain that if we can, by our united pressure, see that the funds are forthcoming, that educational methods, and especially the inspirational side of the educational methods, are provided at our great seats of learning, we shall have no difficulty in solving this problem. (Cheers.)

SIR MATTHEW NATHAN, G.C.M.G.: My Lord and Gentlemen, as a representative of the African Society I would desire to say that the relation of the study of Anthropology to Africa differs somewhat from its relation to the Eastern countries. In the Eastern countries the native indigenous people have their own civilisation. We are putting round this civilisation the outer garb of our own. In Africa there is only very little civilisation, so that the Administration attempts to clothe the complete man, and the sartorial task of fitting on the outer garment on the Eastern nation is

a less difficult one than the fitting of the complete suit to the nations of Africa. (Laughter.) In this task, the study of Anthropology by the man who has the clothes is essential.

The application of the study differs somewhat in East and West Africa as compared with South Africa. In the case of East and West Africa we want to know all about the native in order to develop his capacity to the fullest extent, and gradually to increase that capacity so that he may, in the future, assist in the administration of the Government and of the business of his own country.

In South Africa we want the study of Anthropology to assist in dealing with the ever present native problem. I have always felt, and I think I have sometimes said, that the more we look upon the native in South Africa as a scientific problem the less we shall feel that he is a social danger. It is with nations as with individuals, *tout savoir, tout pardonner*. We want to know all about the native, and this movement, which is intended to increase our knowledge of them, has the hearty support of the African Society.

THE CHAIRMAN put the resolution to the meeting and declared it carried unanimously.

SIR C. HERCULES READ, P.S.A. : My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen, this second resolution, the proposing of which has been put into my hands, seems to me to be in reality quite a formal affair; it is the only logical *sequitur* of the first, if the first is to be of any avail. A mere pious expression of opinion in these days is of very trifling value. Unless it is carried into some active form such as is embodied in the resolution which I have to propose, it is of very little use at all.

But I take it that I was asked to propose this as having been formerly very intimately connected with anthropological questions, and as having had a good deal to do with a scheme some eighteen years ago which bore a very near relation to this. It is, I think, interesting in connection with this meeting to find that the mover of the first resolution is a member of Parliament of great distinction, who very modestly lays claims to no other kind of knowledge in this respect; the seconder was a Governor of more than one of our distant Colonies; and the third speaker is myself, a home-staying person who has had to deal with these questions as they come before an official of the British Museum; one of the driest things, I suppose, on paper, that might exist. This, I think, has a certain interest as showing the wide grasp of this subject.

For my own part, as I said, it is something like eighteen years ago—I think in the year 1896—that I brought before the British Association at its meeting at Liverpool a scheme which I might call the converse of the scheme now in question: that is to say, one by which knowledge of the kind that we now want might be gathered together in some central place, preferably, of course, London, for the use of just those people with whose welfare, as well as that of the Empire at large, we are now concerned. Such a scheme has, I think, a very near relation to the one we are discussing, although I think I rightly call it the converse of it, inasmuch as I had, in connection with that scheme, to deal with the heads of various of our Public Departments—the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, and so forth—and I think it is significant in relation to the resolution I am now putting before you that all of those gentlemen whom I then interviewed were most genial and helpful in the matter of forwarding my plans.

The difficulty was one which does not beset our present scheme, that is to say, that the gathering of information by these gentlemen who were employed in the distant parts of the Empire might conceivably interfere with their official duties, and therefore must take a second, or even a lower, place. Therefore the approval expressed by the Heads of Departments was qualified in a way that to me, as an

enthusiastic person, was not quite satisfactory. But I think it promises well for the resolution which I have to put to you, that in that case, clearly very germane to the one now before us, the Heads of Departments, and not only the Heads, but a great many of those in the lower grades, were thoroughly convinced that it was a good and a satisfactory idea, and gave it their entire sympathy.

There is one other point I would like to make before I sit down, and that is, during the thirty odd years in which I have been working at the British Museum, nothing has struck me more than its helpfulness to many young or youngish men who have come back after five or six or seven years in some distant parts of the Empire, and have seen for the first time in their lives the collections from those very parts that have been on show for thirty or forty years in the British Museum. (Laughter.) They said, "Oh; if I had only known that these things were here." Well, naturally, we British do not go to the British Museum (renewed laughter), but a great many other people do, and latterly I think our own countrymen have taken to go more, thanks probably to a great extent to the efforts of Lord Sudeley, who has forced upon the public that Lecturer and Guide, who has been, I think, of most enormous utility in popularising our public Institution.

Another thing I would have said—if Mr. Jenkins had not spoken first, I certainly should have maintained it—was that no business firm would ever undertake its business in the same haphazard way in which the British Empire manages this part of its concerns. However, Mr. Jenkins says that the business firms are just as bad. But I do not think they are so all the world over, and what I am convinced of is, whether the business firms do it in that way or not, that it is a very bad way, and that it must be obviously an advantage for the representatives of a firm or of a nation to be well instructed in the business they are going to perform before they begin rather than after.

My Lord, the time is short, and though I have a good many things that I might say, I will spare the audience, and will formally move the resolution, as follows:—

"That this Conference hereby authorises the Chairman and Members of the Joint Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Royal Anthropological Institute to represent to the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Henry Asquith, K.C., M.P., the opinions of this Conference as set forth in the preceding Resolution, and to move him to appoint an Inter-departmental Committee for the purpose of advising as to the form in which the sympathy and support of His Majesty's Government can be best expressed."

DR. T. H. WARREN (the President of Magdalen College, Oxford): Lord Selborne, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I am here in the unavoidable absence of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, deputed by him and by the Hebdomadal Council as myself a former Vice-Chancellor, to represent the University of Oxford as a whole in this matter. There are many better representatives who could have been found by the University of Oxford, if your desire had been to have a learned and a special representative.

Oxford claims to have a very considerable School of Anthropology. I think it is only her duty that she should have such a school. I have heard with the greatest pleasure—I am sure all Oxford men especially have heard with the greatest pleasure—the allusions which have been made to that grand and splendid culture hero and Father of Anthropology in England, our old friend Professor Tylor. Professor Tylor set an example and did pioneer work in Oxford and elsewhere, and has raised up a very considerable school. My friend Professor Marett, who is here to-day, could speak more especially on the subject too; in some ways I have the advantage that he cannot so well speak of his own work. We have a school of some eighty-six students (I do not know whether anyone happened to see the report which was

brought out the other day), and of these eighty-six students something like eighty are serious students, pursuing a regular course, extending over some two and, in some cases, three years. I am glad to see that Mr. Henry Balfour, of the Pitt-Rivers Collection, has just entered the room. That collection is of immense advantage, and also imposes upon us a duty in this matter.

I do not speak in any but the most generous rivalry—if I speak in rivalry at all—with regard to other Universities. If it is my privilege to represent Oxford, as the premier University—by the word “premier” I only mean oldest—we know only too well what is being done by the other Universities in this matter, but it is my duty to speak for Oxford.

Well, I would say just two or three things. In the first place, I think we regard this introduction of Anthropology as only a legitimate expansion of the old classical traditions of both Oxford and Cambridge. I think one of the reasons why those Universities were so successful in sending out distinguished representatives in the last generation and in the generation before that was that these classical studies contained in themselves so much of Anthropology. I am sure, My Lord, that your father, who was such a distinguished student of classics, would agree with me that the study of Herodotus, of Tacitus, of Agricola, of Strabo and many other authors, pursued at Oxford and Cambridge in a liberal spirit, is an admirable training as far as it goes in Anthropology. Its only fault was that it did not go quite far enough. We should have understood our Herodotus even better, I think, if we had had more training in Anthropology, and some of the things then so amusing, and at which we used to laugh, we should still laugh at, but we should understand better. If I may digress for one moment, there was one passage which we used to dwell upon with great gusto, which described a practice in Egypt of mourning for a certain god, and Herodotus tells how, “For whom these mourners beat themselves it is not “lawful for me to mention.” (Laughter.) It was generally supposed that the translation of this was, “on what part of their body they beat themselves it is not good “for me to mention.” Well, we should have understood our Herodotus better, and applied the lesson even better, if we had known more of Anthropology. (Laughter.)

What we really want in Oxford is more system. We are getting it, we hope. I think it is the same in the other University. We want a more systematised training. Certainly the system is in advance now of what it was before, but we want still further system.

We want, of course, rather more money, but above all we want encouragement, and we want the encouragement which the Government through its powerful agencies can give us, and these other things would follow, I think, if the Government did recognise even more fully than it has done the desirability of making use of the schools at the Universities which are already growing and making such advance.

And I have a very good hope indeed that if this resolution is carried, and if action is taken in consequence, that we shall meet with a most sympathetic reception. I say so partly from what might be expected of our knowledge of the liberal and open mind of the Government in these matters, and of the interest which the Prime Minister, an old Oxford man, has shown, not only in the older studies, but in the newer interests both of the Empire and of learning, and also because I have had some little experience, as Sir Hercules Read has told us he has had, in these matters.

I remember some time ago when it was my privilege to go on a small deputation to Lord Crewe, then Head of the Colonial Office, to ask him to take into consideration the desirability of providing that young students of the University who were going out to the different parts of the Empire in the Colonial Service should have some special training, including training in Anthropology, I was struck not only with the general sympathy of his reply, but with the knowledge which he displayed

of the problem which was before us and before the Empire, and I am quite sure that we shall find that it will be the same when we approach the Head of the Government as a whole.

I was greatly interested on hearing the allusion made just now by Mr. Jenkins to the Island of Papua. It so happens that the Governor of that island at the present moment is an old pupil of mine. He came originally from Australia—from Sydney—to an English school, and he came on to Oxford and took the Classical Schools, and then went back to Sydney as a lawyer, and now he has gone on to be Governor of Papua. He told me two things which struck me very much. When he first got there he said, "Our problem is to pass, *per saltum*, from the Stone Age to the 19th century." He might now have said to the 20th century. He said another thing shortly afterwards to me. He said, "I go about surrounded by a band of murderers." When he came home, I said, "Did you seriously mean that?" He was a very amusing gentleman of Irish extraction. "Yes," he said, "I do mean it; but murderers are not the same in Papua, they must not be regarded in the same light as they would be in this country." (Laughter.) "These men, no doubt, have taken the lives in blood feuds, and in other ways, of their fellow creatures, and I found that they are very good fellows, a great many of them. The best punishment, and also the best way of keeping them under surveillance, was to take them about with me to different parts of the island." (Renewed laughter.) That is the sort of problem with which you are confronted. I think my friend, Mr. Murray, has, as far as I know, risen to the occasion.

I think that he, and all like him that find themselves going out to these situations, would be immensely advantaged by still further and more systematised study before they leave the University; it would be of immense advantage if that were provided for them. I could name ever so many students—I have no doubt every member of a University could—of different kinds.

Another friend of mine is engaged in capturing insects. He has already spent many years in unknown parts of Africa moving among the natives. What an advantage it would be to a man like that to have this sort of preparation.

But I will not labour these points. As Sir Hercules said, I feel sure we are to a certain extent pushing an open door. What I do feel is, as he has said, that it is the legitimate, the logical consequence of the motion we passed before, but it also is a confirmation of our whole faith and belief in it, and, speaking for Oxford, I should like to assure this assembly, and you, Lord Selborne, that Oxford is very anxious indeed to prosecute, and to be encouraged to prosecute, the study, to develop its school, and to press upon all the young men who go out from it, and all the students who are concerned with it, the great importance of taking the opportunity of familiarising themselves in a scientific and systematic manner with the facts and phenomena which a School of Anthropology can bring together. (Cheers.)

DR. DUCKWORTH (Cambridge University): My Lord Selborne, Ladies, and Gentlemen, as deputy for the Vice-Chancellor, and consequently representative of the University of Cambridge, my duty is first of all to say to you that the University authorities have heard with the very greatest gratification of the proposals that we are met to discuss to-day, and I would add to that the University authorities concerned would wish to assist in this matter to the very utmost of their resources, and to press forward the schemes outlined in these resolutions as far as can possibly be the case. Having said that much, I do not think it would be at all necessary for me to say more as regards the nature of the teaching nor the qualifications of teachers provided at the present time in the University of Cambridge. Their names are known to most of you, I think I may say, in this room.

In the next place, may I add one other point, and it is this, that those who approach His Majesty's Government in support of this second resolution are not unmindful of the great services rendered already to the science of Anthropology by administrators who had had no previous training. Of that we have had some idea to-day.

Those who are familiar with the literature of our subject in the anthropological journals, have only to look through these volumes to see them crowded with reports furnished by His Majesty's administrators, and, let it be remembered, in many cases with no previous expert training at all. In so doing, however, let them further insist on the advantages which would accrue should those administrators at the outset of their work not be obliged to commence in each case each man for himself and from the beginning, but should be able to begin where, so to speak, the last man left off. (Cheers.)

DR. W. P. HERRINGHAM, F.R.C.P. (Vice-Chancellor of the University of London): I think, Sir, that people in this room, being interested in Anthropology, will easily understand that when I hear the representatives of Oxford and Cambridge saying that they wish to support Anthropology, I am very anxious to say that London does too, and not to begin but to continue as they do a study which we have already so well begun. We have got already two Chairs upon the subject: a Chair of Sociology which we owe to Mr. Martin White, and a Chair of Anthropology proper which is at present filled by Professor Seligmann, who is now at the present minute doing the very thing that you have laid so much stress upon, investigating for the Sudan Government the manners and customs of the Sudanese.

I do not think that one need now urge any more the importance of this study to those who are going to live in foreign parts. I am sure that everyone feels what everyone almost has said, but I should just like to add one personal note, because the most interesting winter I ever spent was a winter spent in India, and I felt from the beginning to the end how very much more I should have learnt even in addition to the immense amount that I did learn if I had had an opportunity of such a training as you are describing.

Furthermore, although I do not govern Indian or foreign races, I teach them. I have many students from those parts, and I feel exactly in a very small way what in a very large way an administrator must feel, the desire, the necessity, the very great advantage of knowing something about the manners and customs of the races.

I have the very greatest pleasure in assuring you, Sir, that the University of London, like the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, is already doing good work on the subject, and is only anxious to do more, and I would add this, we do like, certainly, encouragement from the Government, but, unlike Oxford and Cambridge, I think we do like it to be accompanied by pecuniary help.

PROFESSOR FRAZER (Cambridge University): I had not expected to have been called upon to speak, but I certainly cannot refuse to support a motion with which I am so heartily in sympathy. I come with Mr. Robert Mond to represent the British Science Guild, and I say at once that my interest in Anthropology is speculative and scientific. We are here to urge the practical importance of Anthropology to Government. Now, that is a side of Anthropology of which I have no experience, and on the practical side, words from a speculative Anthropologist can carry very little weight; they are certainly not to be compared with the testimony of those who have carried on the British Government among savage races such as we have heard of this afternoon from Sir Charles Lyall and from Sir Everard im Thurn, who have not only administered justice among these races, but have made valuable contributions to our knowledge of them.

Still, though I cannot speak from personal knowledge of the practical importance of Anthropology, I naturally hear much of the practical importance from my friends who have lived amongst savages and worked amongst them, and their testimony confirms what every student of Anthropology at home is aware of, the profound difference which separates the savage races of man from the civilised, and the utter futility of attempting to govern savage races by civilised law.

The Briton at home is apt to think that what is good enough for an Englishman is good enough for anyone, but it is a very fatal mistake. I will mention a particular case. An anthropological friend informed me that an administrator who had lately come out to his district made an investigation of the savage customs, and he found that they were extremely odious and disagreeable to his mind, and he abolished them all at one stroke. (Laughter.) The natives came to him shortly afterwards and said, "Amongst the rules that you have abolished is the rule that we may not marry our sisters; does the Government wish us to marry our sisters?" (Great laughter.)

One more. I parted this morning from one of the best Anthropologists of the day. He has lived amongst savages the best part of his life. He told me what I had not heard, that there had been another petty war in East Africa, in Somaliland, with a loss of British life and heavy loss to the unfortunate natives. My friend, who has very great experience, believes—he could not speak from practical knowledge—but he believes the probability is that that war sprang from a simple misunderstanding which a competent knowledge of the customs of the natives would have entirely averted, and that the loss of life and the expenditure of money and all the friction and discontent created would have been saved by a little knowledge of Anthropology.

I have great pleasure in supporting the motion. (Cheers.)

(At this stage, Lord Selborne had to leave the meeting to attend to his duties at the House of Lords, and the Chair was taken by Sir Richard Temple.)

MR. HENRY BALFOUR (Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford): I think the most important thing Oxford has to do in training administrators and others who are going abroad, is to make them understand that the natives' ideas, customs, and what not are things which have grown up in a definite environment, and must be looked upon as to a certain extent fitted to that environment. That is the living stem, and it is upon that living stem, it seems to me, that it is our business to graft whatever changes we have to make.

That is the business of Anthropology, to my mind, to teach those who are going out to a given environment the nature of the ideas that have grown up in that environment, and to see what is good in them and what is capable of gradual alteration into the newer conditions of things.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried unanimously. The Conference passed very cordial votes of thanks to the Chairman, Lord Selborne, and to the Master and Wardens of the Drapers' Company for their courtesy and hospitality.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTE.

THE joint meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Folklore Society, at the invitation of the Oxford University Anthropological Society, will take place on Thursday, May 14th, at 4 p.m., at Oxford, most probably in the hall of Christ Church, when Professor Gilbert Murray will deliver an address entitled "Folk Influence in Early Greek Literature."

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FIG. 1.
POLYNESIAN TYPE.



FIG. 2.
FAIR SKINNED, STRAIGHT-NOSED MAORI,
POLYNESIAN TYPE.



FIG. 3.
MIXTURE OF MAORI AND MARUIWI PEOPLES.



FIG. 4.
MELANESIAN TYPE. MIXTURE OF TWO RACES SHOWN IN
HAIR AND LIPS WITH MARUIWI.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

New Zealand.

With Plate E.

Best.

The Peopling of New Zealand. *By Elsdon Best.***37**

We have been asked the following question, "How many distinct races do you recognise among the Maori, and what psychological characteristics have they?"

We believe that it is going too far to speak of distinct races in New Zealand, but we certainly have the result of the blending of two races; more than that cannot be said with any degree of certainty, though we may note such a curious and persistent type as that known as the Urukehu, of which more anon.

The two races of which we see types among our natives are the fair-skinned Polynesian, with good features; and the swart, thick-lipped, flat-nosed Melanesian type. The former has hair with a slight wave in it; the hair of the latter, if allowed to grow, has the frizzy and bushy appearance of that of the Fijians. We are now speaking of the more pronounced of the two types; there are intermediate grades showing the blending of the two. Neither exists in its original purity. It is quite certain that every native of New Zealand is of the offspring of such intermarriages. We note individuals closely resembling the fair, well-featured Polynesian, and others that might be termed Melanesians. These may be cases in which less intermarriage took place between the two types in former generations, or they may be reversions to the type; we strongly incline to the latter opinion.

An old native friend assures us that the ill-favoured dark skinned Melanesian type has persisted for centuries in his family; in almost every generation there has been one, or possibly two such in the family, on the main line of descent. He traces this back for twenty-eight generations to a "black" woman, as he calls her, who was married by a fair-skinned immigrant from Eastern Polynesia.

In order to make the position clear, we will give a brief account of the settlement of the isles of New Zealand, as preserved in tradition. These islands, were first occupied by the fair-skinned natives of Eastern Polynesia about twenty-eight or twenty-nine generations ago, but long prior to that time the North Island had been settled by a people of, apparently, inferior culture, who must have been closely allied to some Melanesian folk, though probably having a strain of Polynesian blood in their veins and Polynesian words in their language; such people in fact as those of the Fiji group that have long been in contact with Polynesians. It is quite possible that cannibalism as a common and constant practice was adopted by the Polynesian settlers here after intermarriage with the aborigines, and during the wars that raged between the two peoples, but this can scarcely be viewed otherwise than as a probability.

The description of the aborigines, as handed down by oral tradition, is of interest; it may be rendered as follows:—

"They were a very dark-skinned folk of repulsive appearance, tall, spare and spindleshanked, having flat noses with upturned nostrils, in some cases the nostrils seemed to be all the nose they had. They had flat faces and overhanging eyebrows; certainly a disagreeable, ill-favoured folk, though some were of fairly good appearance. They were a big boned people and they had curious eyes, like those of a lizard. They built no good houses, but merely rude hut shelters, and wore little clothing, merely some leaves in summer, arranged in front of their persons, with rough capes made of Cordyline, Phormium, or Freycinetia, in winter; an idle folk and a chilly, who felt the cold much, and slept anyhow; they were of treacherous disposition. Our ancestors viewed them with dislike and contempt. But the women folk took kindly to our ancestors when they arrived in this land, because they were much finer looking men and more industrious than those of Maruiwi, for such is the

name by which we know those folk. Those people told our ancestors that they were descendants of the crews of three fishing canoes that had been driven to sea by a west wind from their own land in past times, and that the original home was a much warmer place than this island. They were an ignorant people, and could not trace their descent; they did not preserve a knowledge of their genealogies as we do.

"Our ancestors from Hawaiki and Rarotonga were given some of the women, others they obtained by asking, and yet others they took, but they selected the best-looking ones. As time went on wars arose, and many of those naked black folk were enslaved by our ancestors, and, at last, so many were slain, and so many were enslaved, especially women, that Maruiwi became lost to the world as a distinct people. You must, however, know this, that we Maori folk are all descended from those original people of the land because of those women.

"Now a time came when trouble with those people was incessant, and our ancestors set to work to exterminate them, that is, those tribes not related to the Maori by marriage. War raged all over the island, and those aborigines were slaughtered in all parts until few were left, and six canoes full of them left Cook Straits and went to settle on the Chatham Islands. But always were spared those who had intermarried with the Maori."

Such is the traditional account of the original settlers in New Zealand, and, judging from the description of the original people, they must have come from one of the isles of Melanesia, the Fiji group, New Caledonia, or the New Hebrides. The writer is unaware of the style of canoes made by the natives of the last two places in pre-European times, but the Fijians made superior deep-sea vessels, though not given to deep-sea voyages as were the Polynesians. Australia and Tasmania seem to be out of the question as the homeland of Maruiwi, inasmuch as the natives of those lands used no craft that could cross such an extent of ocean. If, as stated by tradition, some words of the Maruiwi tongue were Maori, then it appears likely that the former folk came from the Fiji group. The castaways may have been driven to sea by a westerly wind and then drifted south.

The traditions concerning the language of the aborigines are scarcely acceptable as good proof, however, as the few words thereof preserved may not have retained their original form, but may have become Maori-ised in the course of time. Thus we are told that *kohi mai* in the aborigines' tongue meant "come here," and *mai* ("hither") is pure Maori, though the former word is unknown in that usage. Now, in Mr. Deighton's notes on the Chatham Isles, we see that the above expression was employed by the natives of that group in the same sense, hence it must have been a common one when broken remnants of Maruiwi settled the Chathams about twenty-seven generations ago.

It seems highly probable that many of the Polynesian Maori folk who came from eastern Polynesia and settled in New Zealand eighteen to twenty-eight generations ago were already possessed of Melanesian blood when they arrived here, judging from their own traditions.

In the Bay of Plenty district a tradition has been preserved that, in times long passed away, a canoe full of black-skinned folk came to land at Whakatane. These people settled at a place called Omehu, on the Rangitaiki River, but gradually became lost to the world. This loss would probably be one by absorption, the women being absorbed by the previous inhabitants, and the men by the ovens.

The various types seen among the present-day Maori are of much interest, so many gradations are there, from the fair-skinned, comparatively thin-lipped, straight-nosed, wavy-haired Polynesian type, to the dark-skinned, thick-lipped, flat-nosed, frizzy-haired type that reminds one so of Melanesian folk.

In regard to the fair-haired, very light-skinned type termed *Urukehu*, we may say that it is, and has been for at least thirty generations (probably much longer), remarkably persistent, though such persons were not numerous. Generation after generation this type has appeared in certain families, sometimes missing a generation, to reappear in the next, usually well featured and good looking, admired of the people. We can almost believe with some writers that it betokens contact between the Maori and some fair race in times long passed away. The difficulty is, where are we to locate so fair a race within reasonable distance. The *Urukehu* strain is a mystery.

Of true Albinism we need not speak. Albinos were rare and proclaimed no type.

As to what the Maori owed to the *Maruiwi* folk it is impossible to say after twenty-eight generations of admixture. We can only guess, and guessing is a most unsatisfactory business. We have a dislike for theorising, for of a verity the collector of ethnological lore who allows himself to evolve theories is treading a dangerous path, but there are three items we have pondered over somewhat, and these are :—

1. The origin of the *Pa* Maori. The Maori system of fortifying villages by means of earthworks, ditches, and stockades.
2. The custom of burying human beings (? human sacrifice) at the bases of the heavy main post of a *pa* or fort; that is, if it ever was a general custom.
3. The origin of the most pronounced cannibalism of the Maori.

1. In regard to the elaborate system of fortification employed by the Maori of New Zealand, the remains of which are seen in thousands, we may say that such a system obtained nowhere in Polynesia. The Tongans had learned to construct earthworks and stockades of a kind, evidently through their contact with the Fijians, even as they borrowed the Fijian deep-sea vessels; but these were uncommon and much inferior to the massive works, the terraced hills, of the Maori.

We are much inclined to think that the *Maruiwi* folk introduced this art of fortification into New Zealand, for tradition says that they fortified places in the Taranaki district before the arrival of the Maori. The *pa* was unknown in eastern Polynesia, whence the Maori came; but it was essentially a Fijian institution, and *Maruiwi* were a people who must have at least closely resembled the Fijians. This is a subject into which we intend to inquire further.

2. Some years ago, when workmen were engaged in levelling earthworks of the old Tawhiti-nui *pa* near Opotiki, they found remains therein of the butts of large posts that had once supported a stockade. At the base of each of these posts were discernible the remains of a human skeleton. Now according to tradition Tawhiti-nui was a very old *pa* (fortified village), and was occupied by the original people when the vessel "*Matatua*" arrived from Polynesia about eighteen generations ago. In this case "original people" means a mixed race produced by the intermarriage of the early Polynesian immigrants with the *Maruiwi* aborigines. We have no evidence to show that this was a Maori custom, and no further evidence that it was a *Maruiwi* one, but it seems most probable that it was introduced by the latter, a *pa*-building people. The curious ritual by means of which a new *pa* was "consecrated," as one may say, or put under the protection of certain gods, and the locating of the *mauri* or emblem of the gods therein, are highly interesting, but all too long to relate here. We leave it for the days that lie before.

3. In regard to cannibalism. This was by no means a common custom in the Society group, from which the Maori came to New Zealand, but it was dreadfully

common in the Fiji group. The inference is that it was introduced by the Maruiwi, a folk with pronounced Fijian affinities, and so acquired by the Polynesian Maori, or rather inherited and continued by the mixed descendants of those two peoples.

As to the second part of the query at the head of this paper, respecting the psychological characteristics of the two peoples that settled New Zealand, we must decline to venture any further into the region of speculation. We can speak of such characteristics as pertaining to their mixed descendants, but no more. The two streams which intermingled twenty-eight long generations ago have so flowed down the changing centuries, and never again shall those waters be separated. That is a back trail that no man may lift.

ELSDON BEST.

Africa, Central.

Campbell.

A Few Notes on Butwa: An African Secret Society. By Dugald **38**
Campbell, of the Garenganze Mission.

The Batwa people of Lake Bangwulu is one of five Bantu tribes scattered over a large part of Africa and bearing—with phonetic variations—the same name. These Batwa are one of the few central African tribes about whom little or nothing is known. They inhabit the marshes at the south end of the lake, and live mainly on fish and antelope flesh. They cultivate around ant-hills that spring up here and there throughout the marshes, and on other raised patches at the end of the dry season they grow meagre crops of cereals and root foods. As they do not produce a tithe of the food necessary for their support, they trade their sun-dried fish and smoked antelope flesh with their inland neighbours for meal and grain.

As for the other four Batwa tribes, I know nothing at first hand either of their language or literature. All the information I possess concerning them is of a geographical nature, and to the effect that: Batwa No. I. live in Damaraland; Batwa No. II. find their habitat among the swamps of the Kafue River in N.W. Rhodesia; Batwa No. III. reside in the Kameruns; Batwa No. IV. are the pigmies of the Aruwimi forests and swamps on the Upper Congo.

The Bangwulu Batwa, amongst whom I have travelled and worked for about two decades—off and on—form the subject of this paper.

They are primarily a water people—very timid and conservative—and their full local appellation, as a tribe, is Batwa Menda, or the "Water Beaters," owing to the fact that they spend the greater part of their time in canoes, paddling about among the swamps fishing and hunting. They are also known locally as the Wana-Nika which, in common parlance, signifies "River Children"; and their country (*i.e.*, if the agglomeration of marshes and ant-hills amongst which they live can be justly denominated a country) is called Manika, or the "Land of Rivers."

Philologically their language belongs to the Bantu family and is one of an allied group of fifteen dialects mutually intelligible and spoken throughout the greater part of north-eastern Rhodesia, part of north-western Rhodesia, and the south-eastern corner of the Congo State. Their claim to separate and special consideration here is due to their being the founders, and generally members, of a powerful secret society designated *Butwa*. Whether the society named Butwa sprang from the tribal name, Batwa, or, *vice versa*, is a moot question and of no immediate importance. The word Butwa, etymologically, is made up of two parts, consisting of prefix and stem. The prefix *bu* is a qualificative one, containing the idea of "society," whereas *twa*, the stem, is a word in almost universal use throughout the greater part of Central Africa. *Twa* is the root of the verb *ku-twa*, meaning "to pound meal," primarily, and secondly, "to pound anything" in a mortar with a pestle, an African custom in vogue since the days of Herodotus. Like most African words it has its metaphorical

as well as its material uses, and is put very severely into practice metaphorically, if perchance a hapless exoteric should venture too near the Butwa temple while a service is being held.

Butwa is an old institution, though different in form from other mysteries. I suggest an alternate etymology, which for years has seemed to me the true—and probably the original one—namely, that Butwa is derived from the verb *buta* (root, *but-*), much used by neighbouring tribes, and meaning “to cover up,” “to cover over” (with the idea of hiding), and bears the meaning of the Greek verb *καλύπτω*. The suffix *-wa* indicates the passive voice, and together the root *but-* and the suffix *wa-* mean “the hidden thing,” the mystery. The noun being used in both singular and plural numbers should be translated here plurally, and signifies the mysteries, the exact name given to the Greek Eleusinian cult. It is by no means easy, however, to exhume from under the accretions of ages the original significance of such a word.

Butwa is likewise a distinct cult, possessing initiatory rites, ceremonies, and temple services, with life secrets imposed at initiation. Its members speak an esoteric language known only to the initiated and called *Lubendo*. Ability to *benda*, or speak this cryptic speech, is looked on as the sure mark of a member of the society. This speech finds its counterpart in European *argots*, and is formed variously: sometimes by transposing the syllables of a common word, e.g., *hasaka* for *kakasa*, meaning “a little foot”; again by changing an initial letter, e.g., *temuka*, for *semuka*, “to be demon possessed,” or by introducing an obsolete word as, e.g., *Yambe*, an archaic name for God; sometimes by a compound metaphorical word such as *busankabemba*, meaning “the lake sprinkler,” which is the secret word for water.

The female members of Butwa form themselves into singing bands, and to the accompaniment of a native banjo called *chansa*, peculiar to the cult, they carry on nocturnal concerts which are usually accompanied by wild dancing. Like most Bantu tribes they are totemic, many, perhaps most of them, belonging to the Ant-hill clan. As usual in Africa, their totemism has nothing whatever to do with worship, as was formerly thought. Its main idea is exogamic and is directed towards controlling marriage relationships outside certain circles to avoid consanguinity.

I shall now proceed to discuss Butwa roughly under four heads:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Butwa, its membership. | 3. Butwa, its aims. |
| 2. Butwa, its constitution. | 4. Butwa, its influence. |

1. The members of this society are generally found among the water peoples, though of recent years some land tribes have built Butwa temples, called in Butwa priests, and initiated young and old, establishing lodges over a large part of the adjoining land. Its membership is promiscuous, and is made up of both sexes and all ages. Central and branch lodges are found on both banks of the Southern Chambesi River that runs into Lake Bangwenlu; all round the lake and on its thirty islands; also among the marshes occupied by the BaUnga on the east; among the Batwa at the south end of the lake, and along the entire length of the Luapula-Congo as far as Lake Mweru on both the British and Belgian sides. The chief Nkuba—originally of Kilwa island, on Lake Mweru—whom I have known intimately for years, is the recognised introducer of Butwa throughout these parts, and his name is famous in many a Butwa song. The tribes affected by the cult on North Bangwenlu are the BaBisa and the BaUnga. At the south end and on the western side are the BaTwa and BaUshi. These with the BaLamba and BaLunda along the Luapula, with the BaShila and a few BaBemba and BaItabwa around Lake Mweru, form the entire Butwa community of these parts.

Lodges with a flourishing membership are to be found some thirty to sixty miles

inland from both river and lakes, and everywhere a marked enthusiasm is evidenced for Butwa, while its power is felt in every relationship of life. Many divorces are annually sought and obtained because of the treatment of husband or wife who may be non-members. This is due to the refusal of either to join the society. The non-member has frequently to submit to the insulting language of the other spouse, while the whole society backs husband or wife in his or her endeavour to convert the obstinate partner. The only possible solution is divorce. Of a husband who resists his wife's entreaties to become a member the following sarcastic ditty is sung:—

SONG OF THE OBSTINATE SPOUSE.

Song :

The husband at home,
He lies in a heap,
Like a pig, in a pile.

(*Id est*, He sleeps alone while his wife is enjoying herself at the Butwa camp.)

Young boys and girls are here stripped—at and after initiation—of all sense of shame, and the latter, as will be seen later, are forced to submit to gross indignities. Here also they gain their first lessons in sexual immorality. Even babies are initiated, and as they grow up are gradually instructed, until in mature years they become full members, when they are introduced to the whole arcana of Butwa.

2. To speak of the constitution of Butwa, I shall have to avail myself of a paper written for me in the native language by an ex-witch-doctor. I here give the translation as literally as English will allow.

INITIATION CEREMONIES.

Firstly, on initiating people into the Butwa Society, chief's dung is gathered and dog's dung, parings of the feet of the crocodile, elephant, the armadillo, the tortoise, and the scorpion, besides herbal medicines of various kinds. Pulverised crystal is also added. The whole is then put into a pot with the powdered crystal and boiled together. When this is done the first novice is given a drink out of the pot in this manner:—He or she is seized hand and foot by the priests and taken inside a hut where the initiation drink is administered. At this point all strike up a song and sing:—

Song :

Oh! Come and drink,
Ye mother's children, come and drink,
If any stay away
He's the child of a slave, let him stay.

Now the pot is passed round and all the initiates drink, whereupon the priest gives each a new name, saying, "Now your name is Ferryman." They then continue singing and dancing throughout the whole night. Those who have brought their children for initiation cook messes of porridge and chickens, and make beer, with which the feast continues. Thus the night is spent. After a few days have passed and the new moon appears, all—both men and women—become spirit-possessed and speak oracularly. On returning the dishes in which the food for the feast has been brought, the young people beg from those who prepared the feast while they strike up a little song and sing:—

Song :

In the hospitable home
May there never lack food.
Ye mothers of the Ferryman
Bring out your food.

The women give them food and they answer saying: "I bow the knee to the "mothers of Butwa." The women reply: "Arise a perfect Butwa member and look

Here are a few of the names of both sexes :—

BAINANGULU (or mothers of the crystal fetish).

MEN.	WOMEN.
Katumpa.	Buyamba.
Chimundu.	Katempa.
Luongo.	Ngobola.
Shinini (ya mukulakulu).	Chabo.
Kasumpa.	Lubuta.

These are looked up to as the organisers and officers of the cult meetings, and take charge of the initiates, giving the "chibolo" or initiatory drink. They each have their band of initiates from whom they receive recognised fees for their services at initiation. They also claim to possess magical powers, and terrorise the young members into obedience by threats of witchcraft, which they sometimes put into practice. Each Inaugulu looks on his or her band of initiates hereafter as his or her "fetish children," Bana Ba Bwanga.

3. The aims of Butwa in the individual are to suppress selfishness and promote social life. Their chief attractions are dancing, singing, concerts, beer-drinking, and sexual licence. *Lubendo* or ability to speak the secret language of Butwa is, I am told, another much-coveted acquisition. From the family standpoint Butwa cements members by means of a common tie. Sometimes a recalcitrant son or daughter is found who refuses to be initiated. When such happens, life is made unbearable, and the stubborn child becomes the subject of mocking jests and covert raillery in song. Socially Butwa resembles a club whose members are bound by common rules. Processions are the order of each day while services are in progress. To draw water at the river or collect firewood in the forest all go in procession, singing and dancing as they go. Even going to the bush for necessary purposes, all—men, women, and children—go in procession, and no sense of shame is attached to any necessity, while no privacy is observed or allowed. A man may have sexual intercourse with his mother, sister, his nearest relation, even his own daughter. However, this licence becomes null and void outside the temple precincts, and immediately after the final ceremony of "Subula."

Politically, Butwa is a tremendous force to be reckoned with. Its unity gives it power, so that headmen of villages, to safeguard and ingratiate themselves with their people—if not already members—become members on assuming chieftainship.

4. The influence of Butwa from a purely native standpoint is beneficial, with its feasting, drinking, and orgies. Its help in sickness or need, with the prospects of a respectable funeral and worship after death, is much to be desired. On the other hand, looking at it from a government *point de vue*, Butwa is decidedly and grossly immoral, besides being contrary to good citizenship in any form—*e.g.*, in the year 1909, when the Luapula river had been closed to traffic owing to sleeping sickness regulations, certain snakes were said to have appeared in some villages on the river bank. These, it was reported, were sent by Songa—a powerful local deity—who, they said, was very angry because Butwa ceremonies and his worship had fallen into neglect. He ordered them to be revived at once, and that all Batwa who had wished a successful harvest must send to him to have their seed blessed. This order led to the wholesale secret infringement of Government regulations by chiefs and people alike. In some places where they failed to cross the river surreptitiously they did not cultivate, dreading Songa's curse, and hunger ensued.

From a Christian standpoint the influence of Butwa is pernicious. It poisons the fountains of youth, kills all sense of shame, atrophies even ordinary negro morality and prevents the spread of civilisation and education. Butwa is powerful, and a man

woman, or child presuming to change and become a Christian exposes himself to the dangerous shafts of the whole Butwa fraternity. Non-members are not interfered with, but all members are bound by *the sacred drink* to stand by the rules of the society, and never—under penalty of death—to divulge its secrets.

DUGALD CAMPBELL.

REVIEWS.

India : Ancient Hindu Medicine.

Hoernle.

The Bower Manuscript. Edited with English Translation and Notes by **39**
A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E., Ph.D. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imp. Series, Vol. XXII., Calcutta, 1893-1913. Imp. Fo. Pp. xcv + 401, plates of facsimile leaves 54.

This ancient Indian birch-bark manuscript, picked up in the ruins of one of the old sand-buried cities in the Turkestan desert in 1890 by Lieutenant (now General) H. Bower, has a unique ethnological interest. For it was this document which supplied the clue to the rich stores of historical treasures lying buried in those regions, and led the Government of India and several European countries to despatch to Central Asia missions for the exploration of those sites of ancient civilisation, resulting in the marvellous discoveries by Sir Aurel Stein, Professor Grünwedel, Dr. von Lecoq, M. Pelliot, and others.

The historical importance of this pioneer manuscript (or rather bundle of manuscripts) was revealed by Dr. Hoernle, the well-known Sanskrit scholar of the Indian Educational Service, so long ago as 1891. He found that its so-called "unknown" script was an imperfectly known form of the Indian character which was current in Northern India about the fourth century A.D., and by conclusive palaeographic evidence, by the transitional forms of certain critical letters and otherwise, he definitely fixed the date of the manuscript (which bore no actual date) at 350-375 A.D., a conclusion subsequently confirmed. It was thus the earliest known Indian MS., by several centuries.

Its contents, however, presented what seemed insuperable difficulties in the way of translation. It was obviously the pocket-book of an ancient Buddhist monk-physician, full of technical medical terms and obsolete words and phrases in verse, in an irregular form of Sanskrit which modern Indian pandits could not read, and the inscribed leaves were badly worn in places and almost undecipherable. Despite these difficulties and the dreary iteration of such Oriental treatises, Dr. Hoernle with rare scholarly zeal and devotion set himself to learn all that had been written about Indian medicine in the extant texts and translations in order to qualify himself for the work of translating adequately the MS. This was a Herculean task of several years' strenuous toil.

Now, at last, after about twenty years of almost continuous labour, we have the results in a masterly monograph which is the last word in textual exposition, whilst the encyclopædic notes and commentaries, with their precise bibliographic references, are a mine of research in themselves. It extends in many directions our scant knowledge of early Indian medicine, as found in the works of Wise, U. C. Dutt, G. Watt, and Jolly; and it incorporates some recent results by the learned Dr. P. Cordier. It also supplies an important new chapter in Indian palaeography which alone will make it an indispensable standard work of reference.

The prescriptions of Indian medicine of the fourth century A.D. are here seen to display a considerable technical knowledge of the properties of drugs, with more freedom from magical and astrological trammels than might have been anticipated; though two of the MSS. are devoted to incantatory protective spells and divination. The medical formulas purport to have been revealed by the gods and certain mythical

sages to the legendary fathers of the Indian medical art, of whom, however, only Suśruta is historical, and he is placed so lately as the second century A.D. The "science" of disease as seen in the curative prescriptions is of the speculative fantastic kind found in the "humoral" dogmas of Hippocrates, depending on imaginary combinations of the "elements" and "humours." Long categories of diseases are mentioned for which the formulas are appropriate. Reference is made, amongst others, to "the five kinds of abdominal tumours," "the eight kinds of enlargement of the abdomen," "blood-tumours," "diseases caused by poison, including apparently what are now called auto-intoxications," "the twenty-one kinds of morbid secretions of urine." To the usual six tastes: sweet, sour, bitter, acid or pungent, astringent, and saline, is added a seventh, namely, caustic (*ksāra*). Another hexade of "tastes," apparently for solids, as the qualities are rather those of touch, are "heavy, light, cold, hot, greasy, and dry." Poisons are divided into "natural or "non-manufactured" (*akritrima*) and "artificial" (*kritrima*), and the "natural" are subdivided into "animal" and "non-animal" (i.e., vegetable and mineral)—the former comprises "poisons produced in animals with poison-fangs" and the latter "poisons produced in roots." The animal substances employed are various, and include urine, human and animal—here it may be noted that the reviewer has pointed out that the efficacy of this excretion as a medicine is probably owing to free ammonia, which is early present in the fluid as a decomposition-product in hot climates. It seems doubtful whether some of the vague Sanskrit epithets for the diseases and other morbid conditions are always correctly translated by the modern equivalents adopted by the author, such as "syncope," &c. "Cholera," for instance, is not necessarily *chikam*, for modern research has failed to trace cholera with certainty beyond the seventeenth century A.D.

The theories upon which the treatment is based are generally quaint, though some of these may have prevailed in the West in the middle ages. Thus, in prescribing for baldness we are given the supposed reason why this complaint affected men more than women in those days: "The constitution of women is generally phlegmatic, lying down . . . enjoying, they discharge their vitiated menstrual blood. Hence their scalp becomes relieved of the heat of their blood and bile, and thus they do not lose their hair, and therefore women are not bald-headed. On the contrary, the blood and bile of men become vitiated, hence losing the roots of the hair, their head becomes bald." So for baldness, or grey hair, the MS. recommends the heroic remedy of frequent blood-letting to remove the vitiated blood, with frequent washings of the head to remove the bad humours, followed by the application of coloured oils mixed with pepper and the ubiquitous myrobalans. All this friction, with the application of the peppery oil, would no doubt exert some stimulating effect on the scalp and so favour the growth of hair.

A somewhat whimsical method of treatment by arithmetical progression is seen in "The Graduated Treatment with Pepper" (*Pippala Vardhana*), or "The Thousand Long Peppers." In this the peppercorns are increased by regular increments of ten each day, so that on the tenth day the patient will be taking 100, and the total taken will be 550. On the eleventh day he reduces the dose to ninety, and so on daily by tens, and on the twentieth day it is omitted. Thus the number taken in the whole course, progressive and retrogressive, is $500 + 450 = 1,000$. Another form increases the dose by one pepper only each day for 100 days, so that on the 100th day he will be taking 100 peppers (!), then gradually reducing by one each day till finally omitted; but this course of treatment takes 200 days and imposes special diet with confinement to the house all the time!

The magical elements are not very conspicuous, although the efficacy of some of the chief drugs, such as the Myrobalan and Varuna, obviously rests less upon the

therapeutical activity of the drug itself than on the association of the plant with a deity. Astrological conditions are specified in regard to some formulas thus: Commence the treatment "when the moon is in conjunction with any of the asterisms of "Punarvasu, Pushya Śravaṇa, &c., after having fasted, washed over head, put on "clean clothes, repressed desires, worshipped the gods and Brāhmins."

The myrobalan drug demands special notice, as it enters into the great majority of the formulas, and it is esteemed sacred, and figures in Hindu mythology. "Pungeney "resides in its bark, sourness in its fibres, astringency in its pulp, bitterness in its "buds, but sweetness in its marrow." The name Myrobalan is a generic term used by Europeans to denote the aromatic astringent medicinal fruits or drupes, called by Indians "The three [divine] fruits" (*traiphala*), which are the products of at least three different species of trees, namely, (1) *Āmalaka* (*Phyllanthus emblica*); (2) *Haritakī* (*Terminalia chebula*), of which seven different kinds are enumerated; and (3) *Vibhituka* (*Term. belerica*). They may be conveniently referred to as "Emblie" (the European spelling of *Āmalaka*), "Chebulic," and "Beleric" myrobalans, all of which are articles of European commerce for the use of tanners. How it obtained its sacred character is related in a well-known legend which describes the tree as sprung from the drops of ambrosia spilled on the earth by God, and as having its virtues directly revealed by the supreme God himself.

The version in the Bower MS. states:—"To Brahman [*i.e.*, personified Vedic "Magic, which ultimately became deified as the supreme God Brahmā] while sitting "at his ease, the *Āśvin* pair [pre-Vedic Aryan beneficent gods and 'physicians to "the gods'] spoke as follows: 'Whence has the chebulic myrobalan sprung and "how many kinds of it are there said to exist? How many primary tastes is it "held to have, and how many secondary tastes? What are its names and colours "and forms? In combination with what other drugs what diseases does it cure?' "Having heard the words of the *Āśvin* pair, Brahman spoke as follows: '. . . "There fell a drop on the earth when Śakra (*i.e.*, Indra) drank the ambrosia, "then that most excellent of medicinal plants chebulic myrobalan took its origin.' "[Here follow descriptions of the various kinds with their several tastes and other "properties.] '. . . Whoever eats chebulic myrobalan of the "fearlessness "conferring" species (*Abhaya*) with rock salt and ginger and alternately with these "long pepper, no disease will be able to overcome him. Or let any man eat two "well mixed with an equal quantity of molasses every day, he will then overcome "every disease and reach a thousand years (!) . . . Long pepper, rock salt, "babarang, and chebulic myrobalan (*Haritakī* or "the expelling" variety) mixed "with cow's urine and turmeric acts as a purgative. . . . There does not exist "on earth the disease of men which cannot be effectually overcome by chebulic "myrobalan. That glorious drug sprung from ambrosia should therefore be "administered steadfastly under all circumstances. Beneficial to horses is salt, "water is recommended for elephants, potential cantery for cows, chebulic myrobalan "is the very best medicine for men.' Thus spoke the Lotus-born (*i.e.*, Brahmā)." Much the same is said in regard to the properties of the *Āmalaka* species. The *Āśvins*, the divine physicians, prescribed *Āmalaka* fruits, plucked in the cold season and macerated in their own juice for twenty-one nights, as a tonic linetus warranted amongst many other things "to make a man live for a hundred years in full "vigour of mind. . . . This treatment has been appointed by God himself."

Garlic also is so highly esteemed that it has likewise been invested with a divine, or rather demoniacal origin, for it is related in the MS. that this root also sprang from drops of ambrosia, not however shed by a god; but from those which fell on earth from the severed head of the sun-eclipsing demon Rahu, who was beheaded by the sun-god Viṣṇu in the act of drinking the stolen ambrosia of the

gods. A demoniacal imputation was also attached to asafœtida in Europe in the middle ages.

A still more ancient and important sacred tree is incidentally mentioned in the MS., although now almost forgotten by modern Hindus, namely, the *Varuna* tree (*Crataeva religiosa*) or "Sacred Garlic Pear." This tree has lately been found by the undersigned to be of much archaic significance, not only in Indian, but Iranian ritual and mythology; and has a special hymn devoted to its magical properties in the Atharva Veda (c. 600 B.C.).

An admirably full index, extending over 150 pages, greatly facilitates reference to Dr. Hoernle's classic work, and enhances its usefulness to students of comparative mythology and folk-lore.

L. A. WADDELL.

Borneo.

Hose: McDougall.

The Pagan Tribes of Borneo. By Charles Hose, D.Sc., and William McDougall, F.R.S. London, 1912: Macmillan. 2 vols. Pp. xv + 283 + 374. **40**

This long-expected work, the fruit of the many years, twenty-four in all, which Dr. Hose has spent as a civil officer in Sarawak, will be accorded a warm welcome by all anthropologists. In its production Dr. Hose has been fortunate in securing the co-operation of Dr. McDougall, who himself possesses a first-hand knowledge of the land and people and whose scientific attainments are too well known to require comment. In a short notice, such as this, it is impossible to do justice to the contents of the two handsome volumes which contain, in as complete a form as possible, the Anthropology of the pagan tribes of Borneo; and, indeed, the wealth of detail which their pages enshrine becomes forcibly brought home to the reviewer who sets himself to give a brief *résumé* of the contents.

The authors divide the tribes with which they deal into six principal groups, as follows: (1) Kenyah, (2) Klemantan, (3) Punan, (4) Kayan, (5) Murut, (6) Iban (the so-called Sea-Dayaks). The Kenyah predominate in the central highlands a little north of the centre of Borneo; many tribes of the Klemantan are widely scattered throughout the island, with a tendency to congregate on the lower reaches of the rivers; the Punan do not live in villages, but in small groups, being nomadic forest-dwellers; the Kayan are distributed through central Borneo, on the middle reaches of the principal rivers, except those draining northward; the Murut are confined to northern Borneo; and the Iban have been spreading northward, chiefly from the region of the Batang Lupar.

The theory held by the authors regarding the peopling of the island by these tribes may be briefly stated as follows: The earliest inhabitants were the ancestors of the Kenyah, Klemantan, and Punan, of whom the last-named alone preserve the original nomadic form of life. All three were primitive "Indonesian" tribes, defined as a mixture between early Caucasian and southern Mongolian stocks, the former predominating, and made their way to Borneo at a time when it was still connected with the mainland. These tribes were long isolated by the separation of Borneo from the continent, but eventually Mongolian influence began to have its effect upon them, bringing with it the knowledge of iron-working, house and boat building, and agriculture. At a still later period the culture of some of the tribes, especially the Kenyah, was considerably affected by the invasion of the Kayan, a people of Indonesian stock related to the Karen, who arrived in southern Borneo *via* Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula from the Irrawadi. The Murut, the authors believe, reached northern Borneo from the Philippines, where prevail the methods of agriculture which are characteristic of this tribe, involving the use of the buffalo and a knowledge of the principles of irrigation. The Iban are regarded as "Proto-Malays," a blend of

Indonesian (or Mongoloid) and Proto-Dravidian elements, who probably reached Borneo from Sumatra less than two centuries ago. The ethnological scheme sketched above is supported by numerous arguments, drawn from physique and culture, which are clearly and concisely put. Of course, when dealing with ethnological history which reaches so far into the past, an element of speculation must necessarily be present, but the authors do not dogmatise unduly, and it must be admitted that they have made out a very fair *prima facie* case for the opinions which they hold.

For students of primitive man the Punan are the most interesting of the tribes, since they stand on far the lowest plane of culture. They still obtain all their metal tools from their more advanced neighbours, even the rods, without which the manufacture of their wooden blow-guns would be impossible, for they have no knowledge of metal-working. Unfortunately, owing to their extreme shyness, the information concerning them is very scanty. At the top of the scale stand the Kayan, the best artisans, possessing a tribal solidarity superior to the rest. The Iban have been subjected to Malay influences, having been employed by that people as crews in their piratical excursions. On these forays the heads of the victims were generally assigned to the Iban as their share of the plunder, the Malays annexing the objects of greater material value. In this way their taste for head-hunting has been fostered until the Iban acquired an evil notoriety in this respect. As to the origin of head-hunting, the authors put forward two theories. One of these is that it arose from the practice of taking the hair of the slain enemy to decorate the victor's shield and parang. This is supported by a native tradition, but does not seem very satisfactory, since the use of human hair for this purpose is practically peculiar to the Kenyah. Still, it is supported by a native tradition, that a celebrated Kenyah chief was told by a frog to take the heads of his fallen foes instead of their hair only. A better explanation is that the practice arose from the former custom of sacrificing slaves to the dead; it is suggested that in course of time prisoners were substituted, and later still that the heads of slain enemies were brought from the field of battle instead. This theory has much to commend it in that it is supported by various facts, in particular that a head is necessary for the ceremony by which the period of mourning after the death of a chief is brought to a close.

The question of religion is treated at great length. The beliefs and ceremonies of all the tribes run on very similar lines, though the Iban are peculiar in believing in the existence of personal and individual helpers, or "familiars," taken from the animal world and usually revealed in a dream. There are indications that much of the worship is based on the regard paid to ancestors, though certain high gods are revered, and animistic beliefs play an extremely important part. An interesting belief is that the souls of men who die by violent deaths go to a special paradise in a certain river valley, where they live in prosperity and idleness, having as wives the souls of women who have died in childbirth. The association of these two classes of souls recalls the belief of the ancient Mexican that the souls of warriors went to the eastern paradise of the sun, while the souls of women dying in childbirth, regarded as their female counterparts, lived in the western paradise; though in this case there was no inter-marriage. The description of divination by means of the sun is particularly complete and interesting, but is too long to quote here.

The belief in omens is so strong that even in training boys in the use of weapons, methods of delivering a blow are merely indicated, and the blow is never allowed to go home; consequently it has been found at present impossible to introduce any system of fencing, even as an amusement.

While on the subject of weapons it may be mentioned that the authors cite the occurrence of bows as playthings among boys in the mimic fights which celebrate

the return of a successful war-party. This is the only occasion on which these weapons are used, though the principle is employed in traps.

It is interesting to note that the authors believe the matriarchal practices observable among the Borneans to be, not survivals, but of late introduction. They hold that the custom whereby the bridegroom takes up his residence with his wife's relations has been adopted as a means of avoiding part of the expense involved in the older form of marriage by symbolical capture and actual purchase.

Besides the social system, clothing, ornament (including head-deformation and *tutu*, the latter being treated in especial detail), manufactures, and occupations are discussed at length; and the treatise concludes with an interesting chapter on government by Europeans, the history of the island having been detailed at the commencement. The illustrations are furnished on the most liberal scale, there being over 200 plates from admirable photographs, mostly taken by Dr. Hose. There are, further, several maps, appendices, and an excellent index. The volumes are well printed on good paper, and are not unduly heavy, a fact for which the reader will be grateful. The above is but a slight indication of the contents and nature of the book, but the ground which it covers is so wide that a review at length is out of the question. It must suffice to say that it will inevitably remain a classic.

T. A. J.

Religion.

Frazer.

The Scapegoat. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. London: 41
Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1913. 8vo. Pp. xiv + 453.

The third edition of *The Golden Bough* draws near its completion. This is the sixth part and eighth volume. It corresponds to the first half of the third and final volume of the second edition. When all the volumes are full of such profound interest it is difficult to choose between them, but perhaps this is from some points of view the most interesting. The great argument unfolded through the whole series is manifestly drawing to its close. Something more, it is true, remains to be expounded before the various threads of reasoning are drawn together, but the reader who has not followed it in earlier editions may now begin to see something of the pattern that is intended to be woven.

The theme of the volume is the expulsion of evils, whether directly or by transference to a scapegoat that will bear our sins and carry away our sorrows and our fears. The transference to inanimate objects occupies comparatively a small space. The theory, with all deference to Professor Frazer's authority, hardly seems to apply to every case cited. There has probably been convergence of two distinct rites, if not more.

In the chapter on the Omnipresence of Demons he has collected a convincing array of evidence for the practically universal belief in the pervasive presence and malign influence of spiritual beings. But has he fully considered the effect on his theory of the relations of magic and religion? It looks as though we have here an illustration of an inherent characteristic of the human mind to personalize the objects of the environment. If primitive thought thus inevitably tended to project upon the universe the passions and will man found within his own breast, is it probable that "an Age of Religion has everywhere been preceded by an Age of Magic?" On Professor Frazer's theory the conception of personal agents is "more complex," "more abstruse and recondite, and requires for its apprehension a far higher degree " of intelligence and reflection, than the view that things succeed each other simply " by reason of their contiguity or resemblance," and the great change from magic—which is founded on this latter conception—to religion—which is founded on the other—must have been gradual, proceeding very slowly, and requiring long ages for

its perfect accomplishment. Yet even in the lowest stratum of civilisation now discoverable we find magic inseparably interwoven with religion. On the testimony he quotes, the belief among the Australian natives in supernatural beings is ingrained: "not only are the heavens peopled with such, but the whole face of the country 'swarms with them'—and this in a land to which Dr. Frazer has pointed as affording a special proof of his theory of the priority of magic to religion."

The question is too large to be canvassed now. I can only submit that the belief in personal agents everywhere surrounding, threatening, impeding, and having the power if not the will to thwart and injure mankind, and therefore necessitating other methods of dealing with them than merely magical rites, which employed and regarded no interference by other wills, is as thoroughly primitive and native to the human mind as the assumption "that in nature one event follows another 'necessarily and inevitably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal 'agency.' " Nay, more complex, abstruse and recondite as it seems to us, bred in the atmosphere of civilisation, and "in a philosophy which strips nature of person-ality and reduces it to the unknown cause of an orderly series of impressions on 'our senses,' " it is the really "primitive" belief. And the evidence produced in this chapter on the Omnipresence of Demons is a difficulty in the way of the contrary hypothesis that it behoves the distinguished author to meet.

Passing over the intermediate chapters, let us turn to the final chapter—that on the Saturnalia. It is here that the interest culminates. The author has devoted a paragraph to defending the authenticity of the narrative discovered by Professor Cumont of the martyrdom of Dasius, against the objections of the late Andrew Lang and others. His only proof is that the cathedral of Ancona contains a white marble sarcophagus bearing a Greek inscription in characters of the age of Justinian: "Here lies the holy martyr Dasius brought from Durostorum." It is some evidence; whether satisfactory is another matter. It is some two centuries and a half subsequent to the alleged date of the martyrdom, and gives us no facts beyond the bare fact of the martyrdom. I need not point out that in the interval there was ample time for tradition to grow. Still more time was there for the legend to evolve before the manuscript of the Acts of St. Dasius was written by an unknown author in the eleventh century. Experience justifies an incurable suspicion of hagiologies; and the difficulties of the narrative ably set forth by Lang (*Magic and Religion*, 112) are not lessened by the discovery of the epitaph at Ancona.

If, therefore, we accept Dr. Frazer's conjecture that at Rome a man used to be sacrificed at the Saturnalia, it is not because of the story of the martyrdom of Dasius, but in spite of it. Having regard to the barbarous customs of ancient Rome (and of Greece for that matter), to the traditions of the Golden Age, and to analogous festivals elsewhere, there is nothing improbable in the hypothesis that, at least in the earlier ages, a human sacrifice was offered. There is, indeed, evidence that some human sacrifices were offered at Rome down almost to the end of paganism, though both Tertullian and Lactantius are vague on the subject where we should have expected them to "rub it in." The long and instructive section on the King of the Bean, and the Festival of Fools, which has grown out of a mere passing reference in the previous edition, does not afford us much help on this point. It may be suggested that an analysis of the mumming plays performed at the same time of year, dealing as they do with the killing and resurrection of the principal actor, would lead us to infer that, in our own and neighbouring countries, human sacrifice at one time prevailed on these occasions. And if here, why not at Rome also?

The discussion on the Festival of Fools, however, helps to strengthen the contention that the Saturnalia originally fell in February or March, and so would correspond with the more modern Carnival, which would thus be seen to be a direct

relic of the earlier festival. The difficulty in identifying the Babylonian festivals of the *Sacra* and *Zakmuk* (namely, the difference in date) has not been removed. But considerations analogous to those applicable to the *Saturnalia* may well be held to apply to them. Professor Frazer has quite properly taken the opportunity to argue this. It is improbable that two festivals of such similar and striking character can both have taken place at Babylon in the same year. If they were separate festivals held by different tribes, political or ecclesiastical reasons may in course of ages have resulted in their merger. The Jewish *Purim* is obviously a festival of the same sort. The lateness of its rise and the obscurity of its origin lend colour to the suggestion that it was directly derived from Babylon. But we know that the *Tammuz Festival*, or an equivalent, was celebrated all over the West of Asia; and the denunciations of the Hebrew prophets lead us to believe that it was not without its attractions for the people of Israel. A nomad tribe of shepherds and herdsmen would not have had such a festival. But when they settled down to agriculture the agricultural rites of the neighbouring peoples would commence a gradual process of infiltration, which in the long run would probably be irresistible. May we not conjecture that *Purim* was the ultimate compromise made by the ecclesiastical authorities with the heathen rite, and that the legend of *Mordecai* and *Haman* was the salve by which they soothed their refractory—or perhaps willing—consciences? Some such hypothesis would account for the Babylonian features of the feast, and would be quite in accord with ecclesiastical policy elsewhere.

Dr. Frazer has frankly recognised that, despite the curious analogies between the story of *Mordecai* and the *Passion*, the suggestion made in the previous edition that there is a real connection between them has not been confirmed by subsequent research. It remains a speculation and nothing more. He has therefore removed it to an appendix for further inquiry, explicitly stating, however, that the "theory assumes" "the historical reality of *Jesus of Nazareth*." I regret that he has not strengthened his repudiation of the calumnies of ritual murder in historic times brought against the Jews. The bigotry, not to say savagery, of Russian orthodoxy, and of the Jew-baiters elsewhere on the continent of Europe, demands a protest on every relevant occasion from every scholar. There is no enemy of civilisation more insidious, more loathsome, or less entitled to tenderness, than religious bigotry and fanaticism.

Time fails for even the barest comment on other parts of this fascinating volume. We may not agree with all Professor Frazer's conclusions. We may think that here the true import of a ceremony has been mistaken, or there a bridge of conjecture will not bear the strain of the argument. These are small deductions from the acknowledged value of a work which is founded on the widest research, applied on the whole with admirable judgement, and which by the boldness of its inferences, as well as the artistic quality of their presentation, has attracted to social anthropology and social psychology such a number of readers as few others have ever had the luck to do. From this point of view, at least, the stoutest opponent of his method will admit that science owes much to the author. We who hold that the last word on the question of method has not yet been said, reckon our indebtedness, at a much higher rate.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

Evolution.

Neophilosophos Tis.

Der Mensch und Seine Kultur. Von Neophilosophos Tis. Konstanz, 1912. Pp. 100.

42

This is a short and somewhat slight study of an immensely vast subject: of the place occupied by man and his culture in the universal scheme of evolution. The book is written on entirely "philosophical" lines, and will hardly be of any special interest to the anthropologist.

B. M.



FIG. 2.—THE WOMEN OF OLEAL.



FIG. 1.—A GROUP OF MEN AND BOYS OF OLEAL.



FIG. 4.—TWO OLEAL CANOES FAR OUT AT SEA.



FIG. 3.—NATIVES OF OLEAL.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Linguistics.

With Plate F.

Brown.

A New Pacific Ocean Script. By Professor J. Macmillan Brown.

43

In July, 1913, I paid a visit to the small reef island, Oleai, or Uleai, or Wolea, of one of the most westerly of the Caroline group. One of the chiefs squatted, at the suggestion of Herr Runge, the only European on the islet, and wrote a sentence in the script of the island. A few weeks ago I received from Mr. Runge a full list of the characters written by the chief, Egilimar. There are fifty-one, and evidently each represents a syllable, as will be seen by the accompanying copy of the list. Alongside he has also written *Runge*, *Brun*, and *Egilimar* in the script; and it will be seen that two, if not three, of those employed to write the

last name are not given in the list. It is manifestly a syllabary, as is the *Katakana* of Japan, and a script that was invented in Korea some centuries ago, but never drove out the Chinese ideographs. But none of the characters have any resemblance to these. Nor do they resemble in any respect any of the alphabets we know, European, Levantine, Arabic, or Devanagari. The only other script known in the groups or islands of the Pacific is that of the Easter Island tablets. But they are ideographic; many of them, according to the interpretation of them supplied to Bishop Jaussen, of Tahiti, by one of the

Characters Used in Oleai
Written by the Chief Egilimar.

na	tchra	rā
goo	mmā	lüh
dāa	tchā	stah
bā	moā	tōo
tchro	ro	wā
nōo	ma	schā
pui	boa	kū
ru	tā	soā
ma	pā	bag
bō	vōa	ku
mā	schrū	schrō
ngā	pu	gkaa
boa	lō	rū
warr	tūt	nga
rāa	va	mōo
uh	lā	gā
dōo	moi	du

P N Runge

X E Y K
B R U NH G N E
EGILIMAR

The mark ^
indicates accent

learned men of the Easter Islands, bear resemblance to the form of the thing they represent, though it is affirmed also that they were but mnemonic suggestions of the beginning of a word or line of the hymns or lyrics sung at the annual festivals. They are but one stage beyond the ideographic hieroglyphs on the one hand, and serve the same purpose as the knots in the *quipus* of ancient Peru and of the Pelew Islands.

This Oleai syllabic script is one stage further on in development towards an alphabet. Most of the characters are highly conventionalised, but some retain a resemblance to the thing to which their name or sound corresponds. In the

second column, the seventh from the bottom, *schrü* means in the language of the islet "a fishbone," and the character clearly represents a fishbone; the next, *pu*, means "fish," and the character has manifestly originated in a representation of a fish; the fifth from the bottom, *lō*, means "a bottle," and evidently the character retains something of the form of the coconut water-vessel. In the first column, the sixth, fifth, fourth, third, and second from the bottom have a hint of what their syllable indicates; *ngä* meaning "bamboo," *boa* "ulcer," *warr* "canoe," *râu* "mast," *uh* "sail." So in the third column, the first, *rū*, means "a saw"; the second, *lüh*, "a young coconut"; the third, *stahh*, "a knife." In a few others there might be found by stretching the imagination a hint of the thing indicated by the syllable. But the majority of the characters can be connected by no possibility with the meaning of the sound indicated.

The script is now known only to five men on the islet; but it is probably a relic of a wide usage in the archipelago. There is no possibility of any one of the five having invented it, and if invented by them since Europeans arrived it would have taken the forms either of the European alphabet or of the things bought or sold, of whose names and numbers they wished to keep a record. If anyone wishes to compare this with such a script invented for commercial purposes, he should look up Furness's *The Island of Stone Money*; on page 138 is given a copy of an account kept by a native of Yap for trade purposes; and this native, Fatamak, a sorcerer, I can personally testify, is a man of keen intelligence. A comparison will bring out the gulf that separates the two scripts. This Oleai script is manifestly the product of long ages for the use of the organisers of a highly-organised community of considerable size. In other words, it must have belonged to the ruling class of an empire of some extent, that needed constant record of the facts of intercourse and organisation.

And in this archipelago there are other signs of such imperial organisations in the pre-European past as could not well have existed in the present condition of the specks of far-separated land. A thousand miles away to the south-east I have just visited the ruins on the fringing reef of Ponape, and I cannot see how these ruins can be explained without assuming within an easily navigable distance rich islands that would carry at least twenty times the population that are now found within a radius of a thousand miles. It is the remains of an evidently well-planned and well-architected Venice within a great breakwater; there remain only the public buildings with walls 6 feet to 15 feet thick, built of enormous basalt columns brought from twenty miles away. The timber-built and palm-thatched residences of the people have vanished centuries if not thousands of years ago, and they must have covered twenty times the area of the stone buildings and stone quays that remain, and these latter are said to cover eleven square miles.

So on the north-east coast of Yap there is an obscure village called Gatsapar, whose chief has little or no influence in the island, yet every year canoes from the islands away to the east—the nearest about 400 miles distant—come over these often tempestuous seas with tribute to him. This is difficult to explain without assuming some greater island area to the east over which Gatsapar and its ruler held sway. The stone money of Yap, chiefly immense stone wheels, some many tons weight, brought on rafts over 400 miles of ocean from Babelthup, in the Pelews, seems to point to more land in those seas and an intercourse between the islands that meant imperial organisation. And the story of Captain Wilson of the East India-man *Antelope*, wrecked on Orolong of the Pelew group in the latter part of the eighteenth century, reveals imperial ambitions in the chief or king of Korror; by the aid of a few men of the wrecked crew and their guns he made himself king of the whole group. And the enormous buildings which are still erected in the Pelews

and in Yap as men's clubs seem to indicate an architectural art that is not easily developed without the luxury that wide dominion secures.

I have found it difficult to explain the existence of this script in a tiny islet, whose population (600 all told) has a struggle to live on a poor soil and in presence of the recurring havoc of cyclones, without some such assumption, based on other indications in the archipelago. But perhaps other anthropological observers may be able to suggest another and more probable explanation. I thought it only right that the existence of such a script should be put on record in the pages of an anthropological journal.

The accompanying photographs (Plate F) give an idea of the appearance of the inhabitants of the island. In one of them all or most of the women of the island are seen squatting, waiting for Dr. Kersting, the Governor; some had fine Caucasian faces and hair, others were quite negroid.

J. MACMILLAN BROWN.

India.

Hodson.

Female Infanticide in India. By T. C. Hodson.

44

The topic of female infanticide is one to which every Census Report draws attention, because the low proportion of females to males disclosed by the Census returns (954 females per mille males) is criticised by continental authorities as invalidating the return to a not inconsiderable degree. Our concern is not with the able defence which Mr. Gait has made in answer to his critics (*vide* Chap. VI., pp. 205 to 222, Vol. I., "Indian Census Report," 1911) but with the facts on which now, as in the past, the evidence rests, and particularly with the statement that female infanticide was practised by certain Naga tribes in Assam, to avoid raids by stronger neighbours in quest of wives (*ibid.*, p. 216). It is now more than thirty years since Risley published his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, in the introduction to which he discussed with vigour many of the problems which are still with us, among them the problem of the origin of exogamy. He cited the Kandh case and the Naga case of female infanticide as proof that female infanticide was a consequence, not as McLennan thought, a cause, of exogamy. He said (p. lxxv. *sq.*) "Not only would girls be useless to the men of the tribe as wives, but the more of them there were, the more would the tribe be preyed upon by neighbours in quest of wives. As a matter of fact this was very much the view that the Kandhs took of this question. In 1812 they told Major Macpherson in so many words that it was better to destroy girls in their infancy than to allow them to grow up and become causes of strife afterwards. I am indebted to Sir John Edgar for a parallel instance from the Naga tribe. It seems that on a tour throughout the Naga country Colonel McCulloch, Political Agent for Manipur, came across a village which struck him as singularly destitute of female children. On making enquiries he found that there was not a single girl in the place, for the simple reason that the people killed all that were born in order to save themselves from the annoyance of being harried by wife-hunting parties from a stronger tribe. Colonel McCulloch got hold of the mothers and managed to induce them to promise to spare their girls in future, on the understanding that their neighbours should stop raiding and adopt a more peaceable method of wooing. By a judicious mixture of threats and persuasion the other tribe was led to agree to the arrangement, and many years after when in Manipur, Sir John Edgar was present when a troupe of Naga girls from the weaker tribe paid a visit of ceremony to Colonel McCulloch bearing presents of cloth of their own weaving, in token of gratitude to the man who saved their lives."

There is no mention of this practice in McCulloch's *Account of the Hill*

Tribes of Munnipore. In the report for the Manipur Agency for 1868-9,* I find the following passage, taken, it would seem, from a manuscript memorandum by Colonel McCulloch himself: "In the village of Phweelong, to which I had to proceed on duty years ago, I noticed that there were scarcely any female children and only two grown-up girls. On enquiring how this was, I found the want of female children was caused by a superstition which condemned to death such as were born in a particular position. Further, having found that none defended the practice, and that the women generally wept when spoken to about it, in an assembly of the whole village I proposed to them the abolition of the practice, assuring them if they gave it up I would endeavour to protect them. They promised to kill no more female children, and last year (1867), with a present of twenty-six cloths made by girls born since then, I was informed that female children are plentiful." I see no reason to suppose that Dr. Brown tampered, or could have had any motive for tampering, with the record. In the report of the *Ethnographic Survey of Mysore* (a capital work, but not easily accessible) I find that the Madigas and other castes believe that a case of arm or leg presentation at birth forebodes evil to the midwife, who is said to strangle the child. Whether some such superstition is the explanation of the Naga facts I cannot say, but I think that they do not warrant the interpretation Risley put on them. A Naga is or was not scrupulous about taking life, and as Davis, the best authority on Naga life, remarks, the women generally got the worst of it when raiders were about, being unarmed and unable to run as fast as the men. I never heard of a Naga raid to get women for wives, but negative evidence is not conclusive. It may be that in some way there is a remote connection between this practice and the Khond case, where, as Gait observes (*loc. cit.*): "This tribe was influenced largely by the belief that souls return to human form in the same family, but that they do so only if the naming ceremony on the seventh day after birth has been performed. Infants dying before that ceremony do not return. As Khonds, like other natives of India, ardently desire male offspring, this belief was a powerful inducement to the destruction of female infants, as a means of reducing the number of female souls which might be reborn in the family." I have found the belief in reincarnation among Nagas, and am not disposed on the data available to think that they held women to be generally capable of reincarnation. This evidence, with other facts relating to the question, may be published at a later date, when I hope to show that belief in reincarnation, whatever its origin, affects other social beliefs very profoundly, and is an important motive in birth name-giving rites, marriage rites, and above all funeral rites, when its influence affects every detail in a very remarkable degree.

T. C. HODSON.

India: Ethnography.

Griffith: Haddon.

Some Brahmanic String Figures. By Mr. C. L. T. Griffith, of the
Indian Education Service, Madras.

45

Since reading *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands*, by Kathleen Haddon,† I have tried to find whether there are any Indian tricks with a single loop of string. The search has been unsuccessful, however, except for one man in a train who did "Opening A," but then threw away the string saying, "This is the sort of thing young females play at." The scorn of young females' tricks and the reserve of Indian men will make it hard to find out what the Indian string figures are, but I shall continue to enquire.

I have, however, learnt three or four figures done by Brahmans with their sacred thread, a cord made of nine loops of cotton tied together in sets of three

* Selections from the records of the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. lxxviii.

† Pub. Longmans, Green and Co., 1911.

as described below. These three triple loops are worn next the skin, over the left shoulder and under the right arm. They are worn continuously night and day, and never taken off even when bathing (with oil), and soon get twisted and matted into one cord. The old cord is cut and a new one put on, with ceremonies, on certain occasions.

NOTE ON THE BRAHMANIC THREAD, FROM INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY
MR. V. T. SRINIVASA AIYAR, OF THE P.W.D., MADRAS.

The Brahmanic thread is made by religious Brahmans from balls of "silk cotton," plucked on auspicious days and spun by hand, using only a small spindle. During the making of the thread care must be taken that only the hands touch the thread, the spindle must not be spun by rubbing it against the leg.

The complete thread is made up of one, two, or three individual loops, and each loop is composed of one piece of thread made into a triple loop. The ends of the cotton are tied together and round the three component parts, so that the knot will not slip. The knot used shows the caste of the wearer.

In certain castes one such thread (i.e., one knot and its three attached loops) is given to boys at the age of seven at their initiation ceremony; after this ceremony in ancient days the boys left home to study with a *guru* (teacher).

Two such threads are worn after marriage, which in the old days only took place when the religious education with the *guru* was completed. The investment with the double triple thread is an important part of the marriage ceremony.

Usually only two threads are worn, because nowadays Brahmans wear more clothes (even coats and waistcoats) but very orthodox people have the three triple threads, and in any case three threads are worn when there is no upper cloth round the body above the waist. A Brahman wearing only a lower cloth is fully dressed if he has on a triple thread.

If the knots are examined it will be seen that the two ends stick out and point in one direction, called "the face of the knot"; when the threads are on the body (over the left shoulder and under the right arm) if the knots are pulled round until they are opposite and below the right breast, the face of the knot must point upwards to the left, towards the heart.

When putting on a new thread or threads, the knots are placed on the palm of the right hand, the face of the knot pointing towards the thumb. The right hand is then elevated palm upwards and held high up, and the left hand put into the depending loop palm down; in this position a *mantra* in Sanscrit is said to the effect, "Make me worthy of wearing the thread." The loop is then put over the head, the right arm inserted, and another *mantra* said, "Give me long life, health, wealth, and happiness."

If worn out a new thread may be obtained, and on an auspicious day and hour it may be put on. A new thread is also required before performing the annual ceremonies for one's parents and other senior relatives, also after any ceremonial pollution (such as shaking hands with a European). A new thread is always put on on "Ayani Ayattam," the new moon day in the month of Avani (between August 15 and September 15). This day is the commencement of the half year that should be devoted to religious reading, Vedas, etc. The other half year may be devoted to general literature.

The length of the thread should be such that when the wearer is sitting down the lower end does not touch his thigh.

In doing the tricks the Brahman first has to find the knots, pull them to the front, and disentangle and untwist the cord by drawing the loops round and round,

using the fingers of the left hand as a comb. In the end he gets what, for purposes of manipulation, are three separate loops of string. To know which cord is which, I call one the black, one the dotted, and one the white. In doing the figures it is advisable to have three loops of different appearance, each loop five or five-and-a-half feet in perimeter. These are put over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

A.—Hold the left hand, palm facing you, fingers and thumb spread, and pointing upwards.

Place the white loop over the middle finger, so that the radial (white) string

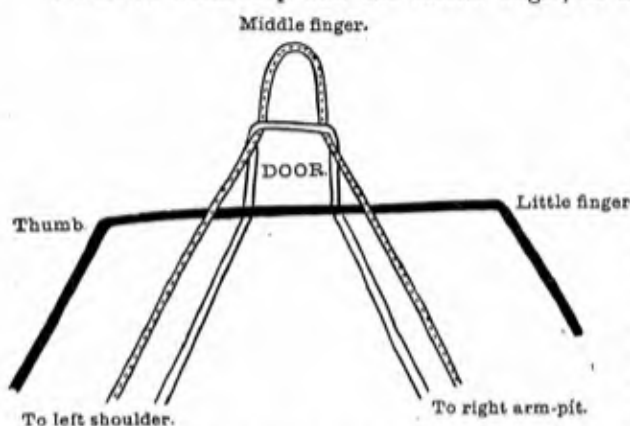


FIG. 1.—TEMPLE DOOR.

goes over the left shoulder, and the ulnar (white) string goes under the right arm.

Place the black string over the left thumb, in front of the index, middle, and ring fingers, passing over the white strings and behind the little finger, so that the radial (black) thumb string goes to the left shoulder and the ulnar (black) little finger string goes under the right arm.

Or, in more strict terminology, place the black

string on the left hand in Position I., distal to the white loop, which is on the left middle finger.

Place the dotted string over the left middle finger distal to the white and black strings.

“Navaho” the white string, keeping the dotted string near the tip of the middle finger, so that the navahood end of the white loop turns up at right angles to the general plane of the long white strings.

The figure is now in three dimensions, and represents the “Entrance to a temple” (Fig. 1), with a door about 1 inch square.

Pick up the dotted loop close to the middle finger, lift it off this finger, and place it over the thumb and little finger of the left hand in Position I. “Navaho” the black loops off the thumb and little fingers and arrange the figure by drawing towards you the white palmar string that runs across from the ulnar to the radial dotted strings.

The figure now represents the “Tank in front of a temple,” with steps down to the water on three sides (Fig. 2).

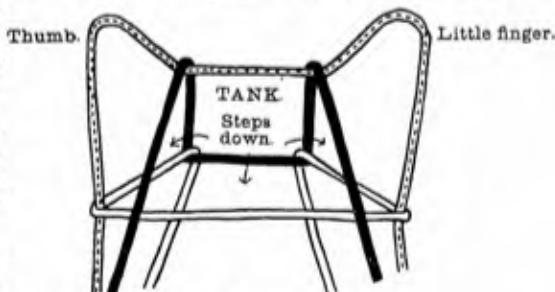


FIG. 2.—TEMPLE TANK.

Pass the right index finger under the three (black, dotted, and white) ulnar strings, under the centre of the transverse white string, and over the centre of the transverse black string, and pull the black string about 2 inches towards you.

The figure now represents a “Sacred *Lingam* stone of Sivaite temple.”

This stone is a simple vertical cylinder with a hemispherical top, diameter about

one-fifth or one-quarter of the height. It stands on a stone base, called the *avadi*, which is, I think, represented by the dotted string (Fig. 3).

If the left index finger takes up from below the left thumb loop, the left thumb can then take up from below the right index finger loop. The figure is then carried on the left hand, and by bending the wrist downwards the figure appears the right way up to an observer in front of the performer.

B.—This figure is done with the whole Brahmanic cord as one, and is therefore described as if done with one string placed over the left shoulder and under the right arm.

Put the loop over the left index finger, which is pointing upward, the palm of the hand towards you. With the right hand take the ulnar string and wind it once round the left index finger, clockwise.

Pass the right index finger over the ulnar (arm-pit) string and down into the short palmar string, crossing the left index finger, and pull this loop forward about 3 inches.

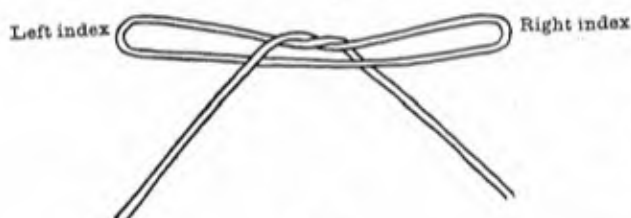


FIG. 4.

right, passing over the arm-pit string, the palm being turned downwards, while the left index finger goes to the left under the original shoulder string (left index proximal radial string) which slips off the left index finger. The shoulder and arm-pit strings should now meet at a knot in the middle between the two index finger loops. Draw these two loops out to a length of about 3 inches each, wriggling the knot if necessary (Fig. 4).

Put the right index finger loop over the middle finger of the left hand, keeping the index and middle fingers together, so that the ulnar index and radial middle finger strings lie close together.*

This figure represents the "Caste mark of a Vaishnavite," as painted on the forehead, our "Broad arrow" inverted, but not quite so broad (Fig. 5).

* My informant told me to put the loops as stated. I think it would make a better representation if one loop was put on the index finger and one on the ring finger, but he would not allow that.

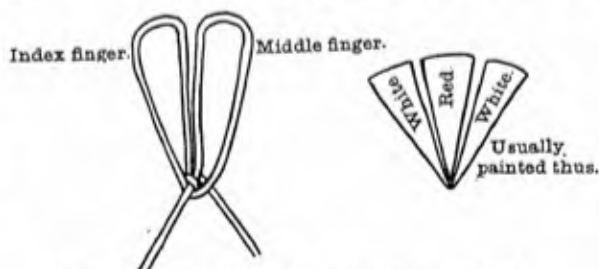


FIG. 5.—THE CASTE MARK OF A VAISHNAVITE.

For the purpose of the next figure I call the above the V-opening.

C.—My instructor would not tell me the name of this figure, but I think it represents a *yōnī*, another “sacred” Hindoo emblem. Three strings are used.

Make the “V” opening with any two strings, say the black and dotted, making the “caste mark” rather large.

Place the third string (the white) in *Right index.* “Position I.” distal to the “caste mark.”

Pass the right hand below the three armpit strings and insert the right index and middle fingers from below into the index and middle finger loops of the left hand, and over the white string crossing these loops. Draw the white string down through the loops with the two fingers and withdraw the left hand entirely. Push the right hand away so as to extend the figure, the palm of the right hand being away from you and the fingers pointing upwards. (Fig. 6.)

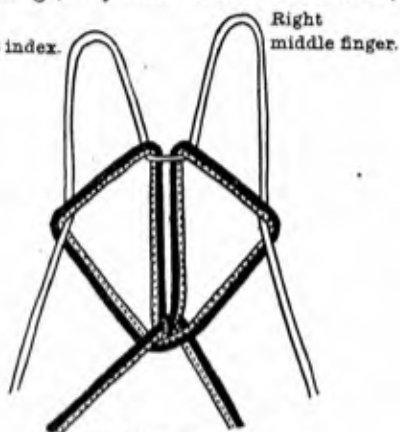


FIG. 6.

D.—The last figure represents “Fields and irrigation channels.” Three strings are used.

Hold the left hand as usual with the palm facing you and the fingers pointing upwards.

Put one loop, say the dotted one, over the index finger.

Put another loop, say the black one, over the middle finger so that the radial middle finger string (black) is distal to the ulnar index finger string (dotted).

Similarly place the third string (white) over the ring finger.

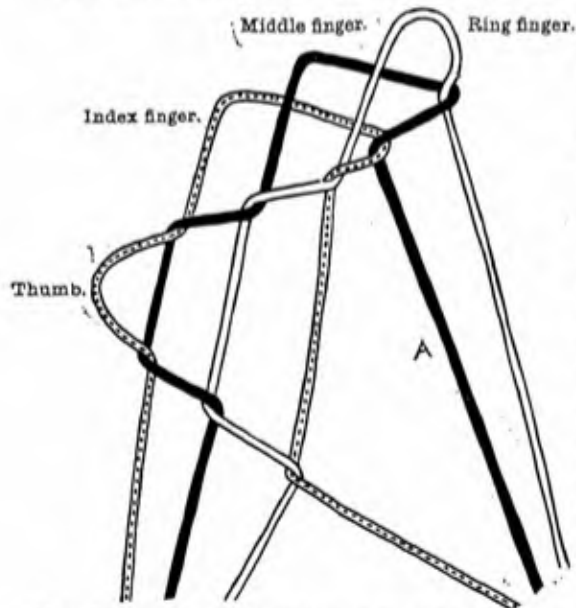


FIG. 7.—FIELDS AND IRRIGATION CHANNELS (FIRST STAGE).

Pass the right thumb and index finger under the ulnar white ring finger string and catch hold of the ulnar black middle finger string about 4 inches away from the rest of the finger; with the tips of the thumb and index finger pull the black string to the right and then upwards, then, supporting the black string on the back of the right index finger, push the right thumb and index finger under it to the left over the white ulnar string and pick up with the tips of the right thumb and index finger the ulnar left index finger (dotted) string.

In the same way pull this dotted string to the right, lift it up, support it on the back of the right index finger, and passing the right thumb and index under it and over the white and black ulnar strings, pick up the white radial ring finger string.

Continue this as before, picking up in turn the black radial middle finger string and the dotted radial index finger string, which you finally hook over the thumb.

This makes five plucking motions in all, and gives the figure shown in Fig. 7.

Repeat the above process, picking up first the black ulnar string at A in Fig. 7, and after four plucking motions, hook the black radial string on the thumb.

Repeat again, picking up the black radial string, and finally hook the white radial string on the thumb, which gives the final figure, which is too complicated to draw.

C. L. T. GRIFFITH.

NOTE.

This account of some figures made by Brahmans with their sacred thread was sent to me by Mr. Griffith, and in writing it out I have ventured to recast it slightly; the figures are copied from his drawings.

It is extremely interesting to get string figures from India, as hitherto only two tricks and one figure of any wide distribution have been recorded from there. These Brahman figures are not at all complicated and may represent an initial stage in the evolution of cat's cradles, having been evolved simply by the wearer's habit of fingering and twisting his threads, and not, I should imagine, by any conscious desire to produce a representation of some object. In this respect they contrast with most of the other native cat's cradles, for it is difficult to see how the extremely complicated figures done, for instance, by the Eskimo could be fortuitous. The use of more than one loop of string is unusual; in some of the figures from the Caroline Islands two players, each with a loop of string, co-operate to form one figure, but apart from this I know of no other example. In this case of the triple sacred thread the reason is, of course, obvious, each movement producing a far greater effect.

Mr. Griffith adds that he has come across a very religious Brahman who does not quite approve of these figures being made; it is using a sacred emblem for profane purposes. One proper use of the thread, however, is to make knots or loops with it on the fingers when repeating Vedas, so as to keep count.

KATHLEEN HADDON.

Religion.

Hocart.

Mana. By A. M. Hocart.

46

The last edition of the *Notes and Queries* of the British Association has, on p. 250, the following account of *mana*: "Many uncivilised peoples (so, at least, it appears) attribute personality not only to human beings and to animals, but to all those natural phenomena which attract attention and make a distinct impression on the mind; and these ideas result in practices which must be classed as religious . . . The observations on primitive ideas of personality led to the recognition of a whole class of words actually to be found in the languages of the uncivilised, denoting those impressive, mysterious, effective, or 'sacred' qualities, in virtue of which men, animals, and things attract attention, evoke awe and wonder, and influence their surroundings. Of these the Polynesian-Melanesian word *mana* has become almost a technical term for European anthropology."

Such is the official definition, if one may say so, of *mana*. Let us consider the definitions given by Melanesians and Polynesians.

Neither group of languages distinguishes adjectives, verbs, or nouns; a word which belongs to any of these three classes also belongs to the others. They will say "a *mana* charm," or "the charm *manas*," or "the *mana* of the charm."

Let us begin with Eddystone Island (commonly called Simbo), in the Solomon Islands. The definition given in "Pidjin" to Dr. Rivers and myself is "you speak true." It is applied only to ghosts and spirits (*tomate*), and to old men who

possess shrines dedicated to ghosts and spirits. For ordinary men the word is *sosoto* ("true," "right"). The opposite of both *mana* and *sosoto* is *koha* ("to lie," "to be wrong").

The meaning of the word was further illustrated by a concrete case. There was a very old man called Rinambesi who was said to be *mana*. "Rinambesi," explained one, "is like a ghost (*tomate*), if he says, 'Go, you will catch plenty of fish,' and the man is successful, Rinambesi *mana*. Before going out the man will say, 'You *mana*.' If he is unsuccessful he says, 'Rinambesi lied (or was wrong).'" Note that the point of comparison is a ghost, as if a ghost were a typical example of *mana*.

It must be remembered that these natives have no word restricted, like our "lie," to deliberate falsehood. *Sosoto* means "to be right," as well as speak the truth, and a man is said to *koha* if he is merely mistaken. In speaking "Pidjin" they use *lie* and *true* in the same wide sense.

The above definitions are supplemented by the use of the word in prayers, of which we collected a great many. They always contain the verb *mana* in the imperative. They would say, for instance, "I am treating this man, ye ghosts, you *mana*, let him live, let him recover." The word may be translated, "put forth your power" or "be effective"; it may equally well be translated, "answer our prayer, grant us our request." With the suffix *-ni*, *mana* becomes an active verb, and takes as its object the thing prayed for. Thus *manani khami iso* may be translated "obtain by your power a bonito," or "grant us a bonito."

Exactly the same definition is given by Fijians, who likewise do not distinguish "true" and "right." Says one informant: "If it is true (*ndina*), it is *mana*; if it is not true, it is not *mana*." In fact, the words are almost interchangeable, and natives will speak of a sacred stone as *mana* or as *ndina* ("true"), or, if it is uncertain in action, they will make it *ndinandina* ("rather true").* In winding up a prayer the words *mana* and *ndina* are always coupled; "*mana, ē i ndina*" ("let it *mana*; let it be true"), is the Fijian "Amen."†

"A thing is *mana* if it operates; it is not *mana* if it does not," says one authority. A Fijian cure, which is *mana* for one complaint, may not be *mana* for another, although the symptoms may be so indistinguishable that the leeches themselves may not be able to tell which variety it is, until they have tried various cures and watched the effect.

In Fiji the word *mana* is only applied to ghosts and spirits (*kalou*), to chiefs (who are representatives or incarnations of ghosts,‡ and whose curses come true), and to medicines. As for the last, some are still made effective through spirits, and the rest were probably so originally; anyhow, the *mana* is not merely in the leaves, but always depends upon personality; the leaves are not *mana* in the hands of any man.

* When the missionary speaks of God as *ndina*, he means that all other gods are non-existent. The native understands that He is the only effective, reliable god; the others may be effective at times, but are not to be depended upon. This is but one example how the teacher may mean one thing and his pupil understand another. Generally the two parties continue blissfully ignorant of the misunderstanding. There is no remedy for it, except in the missionary acquiring a thorough knowledge of native customs and beliefs.

† Professor A. Kugener, of Brussels University, has kindly supplied to me the following information about the word Amen: "Le mot hébreu *Amen* signifie 'vraiment, certainement, qu'il en soit ainsi!'" "La racine de ce mot a les sens suivants: 1° *être ferme*, d'où *'être sûr, certain, vrai'*—et *'être assidu, constant, persévérant.'* 2° (sens dérivé) *considérer comme sûr, certain d'où 'croire, avoir confiance.'* Les substantifs ont le sens de *'fermeté, fidélité, sécurité, vérité, sincérité, foi'* et *'constance, persévérance.'* En syriaque on trouve en outre pour cette racine le sens de *'façonner avec art, artisan, artiste, habilité, artifice.'*" I draw attention to the last meaning. There is a close analogy therefore between *amen* and *mana*.

‡ See a coming paper on "The Theory of Chieftainship in Western Polynesia."

I have known the word to be used in connection with a wraith. One of my windows was once found broken; my servant thought it was *mana*; it portended the death of someone; perhaps the soul of a living person had done it. (When a man is about to die his wraith is apt to wander about.)

So rooted is the tendency to look for a spirit behind *mana* that natives who want to be orthodox Christians, and yet believe in the *mana* of a thing, ascribe that *mana* to God. Speaking of a stone by which men could cause heavy breakers, a Pillar of the Church observed: "God is doubtless its spirit in that He made it *mana* so."^{*}

I do not remember having ever heard the word applied to "natural phenomena" which attract attention. Hurricanes are a yearly topic of conversation from November till April, but I have never noticed the least suggestion of a native theory about them or the slightest tinge of religious awe. Medicine and sacred stones, *mana* though they be, do not evoke awe in a Fijian.

Wallis Island (*alias* Uvea) is a Tongan colony. They are all Roman Catholics and have almost entirely forgotten heathendom, or else do not like to talk about it. But they still use the word *mana*, and it is interesting to see how they use it now. Sosefo, aged about 19, gave in his own language the following illustration: "If you go to the Father and ask him to pray that I shall die, and the Father consents, he holds a mass that I may die; suddenly I die, and the people say, 'The Father's mass is *mana* since a boy has died.'"[†]

The same informant explained the expression, "the medicine is *mana*," as meaning "it is effective" or "useful" (*aonga*). He paraphrased *mana* by *lave*, which means "to strike," "to hit the mark."

In Tonga I got a definition in English from an intelligent Tongan who was educated in Sydney. "*Mana* means if a man puts medicine it takes effect at all" (*sic*). Another Tongan explained it in Tongan thus, "If I am angry with my relations and say I wish them to die and they die, it is *mana*."

Pratt, in his Samoan dictionary, defines *mana* as supernatural power, and gives the example, "He came with the *mana* of Tui Manu'a." Tui Manu'a was the most sacred chief in Samoa. It is significant that the example chosen should refer to person, and that there is no mention of natural phenomena.

In Rotuma the word occurs in the expression, *qit mana e la ne langi* ("the *mana* spirits at the horizon"). They were invoked in curses.

If we look up *mana* in Tregear's *Comparative Maori Dictionary* we find the following Maori meanings: "Authority, having authority, influence, prestige, supernatural power, divine authority, effectual, effective." Of the three examples given all refer to persons or "gods." The second is to the effect that "the prayer invokes the *mana* of Tu." (*Me te karakia inoi ki te mana o Tu*.) Tu is described as a war-god. The third example (which illustrates the meaning "effectual") runs: "His words are *mana* words." (*He kupu mana tana kupu*.)

If the reader goes through the comparative list that follow the Maori he will find everywhere the idea of power, influence. I will single out the following:—

Hawai'i—Supernatural power such as was supposed to be the attribute of the gods.
Mangareva—Divination.

Malagasy—To predict, prophecy.

^{*} See "Pierres magiques au Lau, Fiji"—*Anthropos*, 1911, Vol. VI., pp. 726 ff.

[†] The Fathers are not to be held responsible for this heterodox view of the mass. It is merely another instance how missionaries and natives may think at cross-purposes without ever finding it out. The case is all the more striking as there are no more devoted missionaries or more intimately acquainted with their flock and all their affairs than the Marist Fathers. At the same time it gives us an insight into some of the true causes of missionary success, and the sooner our illusions on the subject are dispelled the sooner will real solid work begin.

The "official" account of *mana* is mainly based on Codrington. Let us see what this most valuable authority has to say:—

Florida (p. 52): "The origin of the power of the chiefs (*vunagi*) lies entirely in the belief that they have communication with powerful ghosts (*tindalo*), and have the *mana* whereby they are able to bring the power of the *tindalo* to bear."*

Walurigi, Northern New Hebrides (p. 57). The reader will find an account how, when the chief Mairuru died, a man claimed that he went to the place where Mairuru used to hold intercourse with the *wui* or spirits, and that Mairuru himself appeared and gave him the *mana*, the magic chant, to produce pigs.

Mana is used in connection with prophecy (p. 209, f.).

To quote all Dr. Codrington's instances were too long. I refer the reader to his index. He will find that the other instances are either neutral or confirm the meanings we have found elsewhere. *Mana* in the New Hebrides appears never to be spontaneous, but always to respond to some prayer or charm.

As for Dr. Codrington's inferences, they are somewhat inconsistent, because he is too much under the influence of the dominating school to fit his theories to his facts, and too honest to fit his facts to his theories. He tells us (p. 119) that "this power (*mana*), though impersonal, is always connected with some person who directs it, all spirits have it, ghosts generally, some men. If a stone is found to have supernatural power, it is because a spirit has associated itself with it . . ." How can it be impersonal if it is always connected with personal beings? Would it not be just as reasonable to say, "Talent, though itself impersonal, is always connected with some person who directs it. If a book exhibits talent, it is because a man has written it . . ." The natives certainly never told Dr. Codrington that it is impersonal, because they certainly could never express such an idea, unless they are vastly superior in powers of abstract thinking to the semi-civilised Polynesians. And if they are, are they primitive?

It will be noticed that *mana* is almost invariably manifested in answer to a prayer or curse, and that informants almost invariably select prayers and curses which are realised in order to illustrate the meaning of *mana*. The fundamental meaning appears to be "to come true," and we might almost define *mana* a "response of spirits to prayer." Fijian and Polynesian medicine, however, stand in our way; there is no conclusive evidence that they were originally accompanied by prayers. They can easily be conciliated, however, by adding to our definition "and charms." And, perhaps, to eliminate all element of assumption we might keep it a bit loose by saying that it is "the response (generally, if not always, of spirits) to prayers and charms." As a permanent attribute of ghost, spirits, and persons, it is the power so to respond.

So far from being præanimistic, the word is out and out spiritualistic; it is almost, if not entirely, confined to the action of ghosts and spirits, who, whatever their origin, now go under the same name as the ghosts: *tomate* in Mandegusu, *kalou* in Fiji, *'atua* in Uvea,† *aitu* in Samoa. It would seem that the word is simply a technical term belonging to a spiritualistic doctrine which it is the task of Ethnology to reconstruct, and that it has been carried all over the Pacific as part of that doctrine by a people whom we have to identify.‡

The wide diffusion of the word *mana* is sufficient refutation of the prevailing views. It is hardly likely that we should find primitive thought underneath a word that is spread over the vast Pacific Ocean, and across the Indian Ocean, is found

* Yet on p. 191 he tells us "no man, however, has this power of his own, all that he does is done by the aid of personal spirits." This is not quite consistent.

† Wallis Island.

‡ Probably the diffusers of sacred chieftainship as found in Western Polynesia.

where centuries ago men were able to rear the megalithic structures of Tonga and Ponape, and is used by a people who were by no means uncivilised when first discovered, and must have been even less so in the distant past. A. M. HOCART.

REVIEW.

Africa, East.

Stigand.

The Land of Zinj: Being an Account of British East Africa, its Ancient History and Present Inhabitants. By Captain C. H. Stigand. London: Constable & Co. Pp. 351. Thirty-two illustrations and map. 47

Captain Stigand's long experience and linguistic accomplishments qualify him to speak with authority on any matter relating to East Africa, but, unfortunately, the effect of the volume before us is somewhat scrappy and disappointing. It is a great pity, too, that the only map which seems to have been available is one published a good many years ago, avowedly only provisional, and containing some serious inaccuracies, e.g., placing "Fazi" (= Faza or Ghasin) on a separate island called "Fazi," whereas it is really in the island of Siyu (or Pate), as correctly stated by Captain Stigand in the text (pp. 141, 149, &c.).

The exceedingly interesting chapters (II-IV), headed "Ancient History from Swahili Sources," are stated to be "culled from old Pate records" and communicated to the writer by "Bwana Kitini, who is a direct descendant of the Pate Sultans." Captain Stigand says that "for some reason or other" he "was not allowed access to the original documents, except one relating to recent Zanzibar history." I was expressly assured at Witu, and, I think, also at Pate, that no old documents are now in existence at the latter place. A well-known MS., *The Book of the Kings of Pate*, which seemed to be the chief authority for the history of that town, was, so I was told, taken to Witu when the Nabahan migrated thither from Pate about 1837, and destroyed in the bombardment of October, 1890. There are, however, two recent chronicles of Pate and Lamu, the latter written by the late Faraji bin Hamad il-Bakari, which no doubt embody much information derived from older authorities. Indeed, *The History of Pate* seems to be derived from Captain Stigand's informant, since the scribe of the MS. in my possession,* Hamad bin Saleh Muhammad, says: "We have copied it from Muhammadi bin Fumo Omari il-Nabahani, called Bwana Kitini,† and he obtained it from his grandfather, Muhammadi bin Bwana Mkuu Linabahaniya, called Bwana Simba." The account given to Captain Stigand is frequently fuller, and throws light on some puzzling passages in Faraji's MS.

Chapters V and VI are full of interesting notices, though conveyed in a somewhat disconnected manner and containing several points open to question. Thus, in his remarks on the Amu and Pate dialects, the author seems to overlook the fact that the presence of two consecutive vowels is due to the dropping of an intermediate consonant found in older forms of the word, not to its introduction by people whose pronunciation is "thicker" (*sic*). Thus, he says, at Kilwa, "you even hear 'lira' and 'kwera,'" but these are the recognised forms in Chinyanja (in Yao, which is geographically nearer to Kilwa, we have *lila* and *kwela*), which are much closer to the original stems than the slurred *lia* and *kwea* of the northern coast. We cannot agree with Captain Stigand, moreover, in thinking (p. 120), "What a pity it is that practically all the exercises, grammars, and treatises, on the Swahili language have been written in Roman and not in Swahili [= Arabic] characters." To go no further, the impossibility of distinguishing

* Given to me in 1911 by Mr. A. C. Hollis.

† The typist employed by Mr. Hollis has transliterated this name as Kisheni, but though the original is not very clear, I think the letter is not ش but ب.

between *i* and *e*, *o* and *u*, *g* and *ng* (both these last being written ġ, which represents a different sound from either), makes the task of acquiring the language unnecessarily difficult. It is, of course, a good thing to add a knowledge of the character as soon as practicable, on account both of the existing literature written in it and of its use in correspondence by educated Swahilis, among whom, however, I find a very general desire to learn the Roman character. Surely it is an error to say (p. 119) that "in Pate, Amu, and Mombasa we have five different 't's,' one of them being "the English cerebral *t*." The English *t* is a dental, or rather alveolar. In Swahili this sound is purely dental, as in *kitwa*, *toa*, *taka*. The other, the cerebral *t*, is heard in *tatu*, *mti*, *tenda*, &c.; both these are aspirated, making, in all, four *t*'s. It seems doubtful whether *ṭ* and *ṭ* indicate distinct sounds from the above; if so, it can only be in purely Arabic words.

It seems a little too sweeping to say that "Kikae or the old language differs "more from modern Swahili than does Chaucer from modern English," that is, if all present-day dialects are taken into account; and I believe it is a moot point whether Kingori (or Kingozi) ever existed as current speech or was at any time other than a literary dialect. In this connection a note on p. 38 seems to call for comment. The Perfect formed by suffixing *-ile* or by change of vowel (as in *ulele*, from *lala*) is not such a very rare term, being still constantly used by natives of Lamu, Shela, and Siyu; nor, I suspect, has the author quite succeeded in conveying his meaning when he says that *ulele* means "'he is in the act of sleeping,' as opposed to "analala or yualala = 'he is sleeping.'" *Analala* means "he is in the act of lying down." *Ulele* (or, in Mombasa Swahili, *amelala*) = "he has lain down," i.e., "he is sleeping." The note on p. 254 seems to ignore the existence of cerebral *l* and *r*, the real solution of the difficulty.

Before passing from the subject of language it may be pointed out that *mbuzi* (see Glossary, and p. 110) is not precisely "a hook," as all who have seen the implement will agree; that *ramli* can only in a very elastic sense be called the Swahili for "lots, magic stones"; that *nyangwa* is the plural of *wangwa*, which I have heard constantly used in the neighbourhood of Mombasa, and does not mean so much a "mangrove-swamp" as the sandy flats at the head of the tidal creeks, which can be crossed at low water; and that I cannot discover any Portuguese word resembling *chela* (p. 157). I have never heard *sukani* (p. 140) used in the sense of "pilot"—the usual word is *rubani* (from ربان), but it is only fair to add that Krapf gives *sukuni* (*sukani*?), "steersman."

The interesting chapter on "Native Shipping" gives a full account of the various kinds of craft to be seen on the east coast of Africa. The "eyes painted "on either side of the bow" (p. 144)—often reduced to a mere triangular space, or, as more usually in the islands, to a circle with or without a central dot—are an interesting survival. I do not quite know what to make of the remark that they were "perhaps the forerunners of our hawser holes."

It is unfortunate that, with the excellent opportunities Captain Stigand has enjoyed, his writing should be marred by a vagueness, not to say inaccuracy, which greatly impairs the value of his ethnological observations. Thus it is difficult to understand his use of the term, "Wanyika"; he expressly differentiates these people from Giriyama (p. 179), Rabai, Duruma, and Digo (p. 180). Again (p. 118), "the Bantu words in the Lamu Archipelago bear the stamp of the "Giriyama language" (it would be equally correct to say of the Pokomo), "that "of Mombasa Kinyika." Needless to say there is no such thing as a "Nyika" language, apart from Giriyama, Rabai, Duruma, etc.

Again, the "hunting tribe" of the Wachoni (p. 175) is puzzling. The Wachonyi are not a hunting tribe, but one of the five minor Bantu tribes included

(with the four greater ones mentioned above) in the general designation Wanyika; and their headquarters are at Kaya Chonyi, between Mtanyanyiko and Ralui. It hardly seems possible that this name can be a mistake for Juan or Juwana. "The Galla on and near the Tana . . . call themselves 'Warde'"—an appellation of which I can make nothing, unless, indeed, it is the not uncommon personal name of Worede. This, when used as, *e.g.*, by the Government headman at Kurawa, who calls himself Abarea Worede, adding his father's name to his own, might conceivably be mistaken for a tribal name. I have never heard these Galla (except, of course, when speaking Swahili, when they say "Wagalla") call themselves anything but Orma. However, I find that Mr. I. N. Dracopoli says the Galla of Jubaland are "locally called Werdey." Vannutelli and Citerni (*L'Omo*, p. 159), give "Uarda" as the name of former inhabitants to whom the Borana attribute the curious ancient wells to be found in their country. On the same page it seems to be implied that the Borana and the Galla are distinct, though it is admitted that they speak the same language.

The last two chapters contain much that is suggestive and stimulating, together with some dicta to which the reviewer, personally, finds it impossible to subscribe. Pages 312-317, in particular, deserve the closest attention. The remarks about the Baganda on p. 318 are very striking, but one wishes they had been a little more fully developed. Why is "the country flooded with husbandless women"? Does this result from the discouragement of polygamy by the missionaries? And is it a fact that the women greatly outnumber the men? According to Mr. Weeks, this is not the case with the Congo tribes, where the prevalence of polygamy means a large number of unmarried men.

Elsewhere, too, a little more clearness in definition would help us materially in estimating the value of the author's conclusions—*e.g.* (p. 303): "It is not always the most moral tribes who are the finest or the most intelligent; rather the reverse, *e.g.*, the Masai and Nandi in East Africa, the Baganda in Uganda, and the Yao in Nyasaland, all of which are much above the average native in intelligence, though notoriously lax in morals." What is here meant by "laxity in morals"? Does it mean a disregard of known standards, or conformity with a code which, however eccentric, and even vicious from a European point of view, yet implies a sort of moral sanction of its own? If the latter, it is hardly the right expression. There is all the difference in the world between the immorality of a certain type of Swahili, whose carelessness of the formalities of marriage and divorce amounts to virtual promiscuity, but who, in theory, recognise adultery as a crime, and the pre-nuptial license allowed by custom to Kikuyu girls, who, once married, are usually faithful wives and good mothers. As regards the Yao, if Captain Stigand refers to their immemorial *unyago* custom, they should be placed under the second head; if to comparatively recent abuse of this custom, and other vices introduced by Swahilis from the coast, it is possible that the injurious effect on the race has not yet had time to manifest itself. But the subject needs to be discussed with thorough knowledge and great discrimination.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter (so little having been published on the subject by other writers) is that on "The Lamu Archipelago." To this belong the two beautiful photographs of the "Bridge Mosque" (*Meskiti wa Darajani*), just outside Lamu as you go towards Shela, which Captain Stigand calls a Persian monastery. It is a little surprising to read that "the women of Faza affect kerchiefs tied about the head, either of the red bandanna type or black, as amongst the 'Somalis.'" This scarcely conveys the idea of the characteristic and peculiar *msuwani*—a kind of wide-meshed net made by drawing the threads out of a small square of silk or other fabric. Under this the hair is tied into a roll on each side in a fashion recalling some ancient Egyptian coiffures.

The temptation to linger over this chapter is great, suggestive as it is of pleasant recollections connected with the same places. Captain Stigand's visit would seem to have taken place some years ago; he speaks of Sheikh Utiro, who died, I believe, in 1910, as "the present Liwali of Faza." The house of Utiro's father, containing some beautiful plaster work in fairly good preservation, was pointed out to me among the ruins of Tundwa. It was at Faza that I heard the story of Baki-umbe (*see* p. 40), and also that of Mngwame, king of Vumbe, who, dispossessed of his kingdom by Erei of Chundwa (Tundwa) came down to hawking matting-bags for a living. (*See* Taylor, *African Aphorisms*, section 81.) The story related by Captain Stigand's informant (p. 33) of the Shanga maiden miraculously delivered from the soldier's pursuit, recalls the legend attached to the site known as "Kwa Waanawali Sabaa" ("The Seven Maidens"), a few miles north of Kipini, but is evidently quite independent. According to this, seven young girls, flying from the Galla who had sacked the town, cried to God for help (or, in another version, to the earth: *Nti, atama tupate kungia tiati!*) and were swallowed up—the pursuers, when they arrived, finding only a half-yard of *leso* to indicate what had become of them.

There are some very interesting photographs, besides those already mentioned. Among the best are those of the Kisii, facing pp. 302 and 318. A. WERNER.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

International Congress of Americanists.

The XIX Session of this Congress will be held at Washington, 48 October 5-10 next, under the presidency of the Hon. John Foster, and with the co-operation of the Smithsonian Institution, the Universities, and the Anthropological Society of Washington. The promoters hope to make it both pleasant and profitable for students of the archaeology, ethnology, and linguistics of the Americas. The new National Museum will be open, with its unrivalled collections.

It contains a reference series of ancient skeletal material from Peru, including 2,500 skulls from Pachacamac, of the highest value, and this will be freely open to scientific investigators who may wish to consult it.

An afternoon will be spent at the ancient workshop-site of flint implements at Piney Branch. At the conclusion of the meeting there will be an excursion of several days to the principal cities of the eastern States and their magnificent museums, followed by a trip to the Mounds of Ohio (where excavations will be made), and to the Pueblos and cliff-dwellings of New Mexico and Arizona, under favourable arrangements with the railway companies. Members with sufficient time at their disposal could easily go on by steamer from New Orleans to Barrios for Guatemala and the great ruined cities of Quirigua and Copan, continuing to Colon for Panama and returning by Jamaica.

Thirty-five delegates had already been appointed in April, and fifty papers were announced. Persons desiring to join may become members on payment of five dollars (which includes the "Proceedings" illustrated), or an Associate for two-and-a-half dollars. Fees should be sent to Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, Secretary, National Museum, Washington, D.C.

It will be remembered that the eighteenth Congress was held in London in May, 1912. The twentieth Congress will be again in Europe, probably at the Hague, in 1916.



FIG. 2.—BATWA MAN PRODUCING FIRE BY "TWIRLING."



FIG. 1.—BATWA WOMEN WITH RICHLY ORNAMENTED MANTLES MADE OF SKIN OF THE SWAMP ANTELOPE.



FIG. 3.—BATWA MAN PLAYING ON HIS BOW, WHICH RESTS ON A SOUNDING BOARD CONSISTING OF A CALABASH.



FIG. 4.—DANCE IN BATWA VILLAGE.

THE SWAMP OF BANGWELO AND ITS INHABITANTS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, Central.

With Plates G. and H.

Von Rosen.

The Swamps of Bangweolo and Its Inhabitants (being a translation from the Swedish of Chapter VI. in Count Eric von Rosen's *Från Kap tell Alexandria*, Stockholm. 1914).

49

After a halt of a few days at the beautiful situation at the south-western corner of lake Bangweolo, we continued our march in an easterly direction to the point where the Luapula river leaves the lake.

Already on the day before we arrived at the river, large swamps covered with grass were seen between the dry land and the lake. Besides a quantity of large waders, hundreds of lechwe antelopes (*cobus leche*), the bucks with fine lyre-shaped horns, were to be seen in the bogs.

These animals, which I have never seen on dry land, are not easy to approach, since they can without any difficulty run through marsh land where it is impossible for a hunter to make his way. I had myself to follow them for four hours in the swamp before I succeeded in killing the three bucks that I wanted. Sometimes I sank more than knee-deep in the slush, at other times I had to crawl prone through the mire in order to get within range. As I encountered the animals when the sun was nearly at its zenith, I need hardly mention that it was very tiring, and that when I came back to dry ground I was absolutely exhausted. But the head of the biggest of the bucks that had fallen to my gun was a hunting trophy that fully compensated for any exertion.

A narrow peninsula extends from the mouth of the Luapula towards the large papyrus swamps at the south of the lake. The western and southern part of the peninsula is bounded by open water, while the papyrus bog extends to the east in its dreary monotony as far as it is within sight. Numerous Babisa villages are to be seen in the peninsula, and moreover some swamp dwellers of the Batwa tribe,* who have preferred to move on to dry land, have erected their huts here.

We set up our head camp on the east side and near the south edge of this peninsula, this being an excellent starting point for excursions to the Batwa living in the swamps.

I had received valuable information from Captain Harrington at Fort Rosebery, and also from Mr. Hughes, the otter hunter, as to the best way to get in touch with these shy people, whom, as I mentioned before, had been seen by only a few white men. Captain Harrington laid especial stress on the fact that if a Batwaman should see that I or any of my people bore arms, we should never be able to get near them, and that if any of my blacks insulted them in the least way, it would be very probable that the culprit would expiate his offence with a fish-spear between his shoulder-blades.

I had among my carriers a swamp dweller of another tribe, a Waunga† from the eastern part of the swamps. I had expected to be helped by him in approaching the Batwa people, but he explained that between the Batwa and Waunga tribes, which had each their separate district on either side of the swamp, there was a standing feud, and that the Batwa would have no hesitation in slitting his throat, should they get the chance. On the other hand, they had never shown enmity towards the few whites who had approached the swamps, but had preferred generally to disappear in good time in the recesses of the papyrus.

The day before I intended to make my first attempt to get in touch with these

* Batwa signifies swamp dwellers, or perhaps more correctly the people of the wilds. A man of the Batwa tribe is called Mutwa; a man of the Babisa tribe is called Mubisa.

† Waunga, see "Bangweulu Swamps and the Wa Unga," by Frank H. Melland, *The Geogr. Journ.*, Oct. 1911.

people, whose acquaintance I had so long wanted to make, information was received from a negro village that a herd of elephants was in the banana plantations of their village. It was only one day's march to the village where the elephants were, and the temptation to put off my ethnographical researches was great, I admit, but the rainy season was approaching and I was aware that when it had set in there would be an end to all visits in the mosquito-filled swamps. Every day was therefore precious, and my ethnographical interest prevailed over my eagerness for the chase.

Fries and I left the camp early in the morning, followed by some blacks. When we had gone a short distance past the village of the Babisa chief, Kaminda, we caught sight of some small grass huts in the swamps. We understood at once that they were the dwellings of the mysterious Batwa, but in spite of the minutest inspection with our Zeiss glasses we could not discern any living being near the huts, and then we understood that the watchful swamp-dwellers had seen us and had already managed to hide themselves among the rushes and reeds. I now asked Fries to stop with our people

and went myself towards the huts, carrying in my hands large clusters of tempting white glass beads. I believed that alone, and without any visible weapon as I was, the swamp-dwellers would not have any fear for me, and that their curiosity and desire for the glass beads would entice them to draw near.

The ground became more and more boggy, but I pushed on and was soon at the grass huts,



FIG. 1.—BATWA HUTS IN THE QUAGMIRE.

which were so small and wretched that one might have believed that they were built by dwarfs. I stood there a long time and waited but no Batwa appeared. I made a sign to Fries to come to me so that he also could see the strange dwelling-place.

On further examination we perceive more huts out in the swamps and soon catch sight of some black forms emerging among the distant huts, but every attempt to advance in that direction is prevented by the oozing slush. I continue, however, waving with my bead-strings, and after half-an-hour's patient waiting a long narrow canoe is pushed out. A youth who is standing in the stern manœuvres skilfully through the slimy water with the aid of a long, coarse papyrus reed to which a wooden crotch is attached with which to hold on to the reeds and grass, when the mud is too loose to offer sufficient resistance.

The endless swamp, with its papyrus teasel and its lovely water-lilies blending shades, the small grass huts dotted here and there in the far distance, and inhabited by an almost unknown people, the slender canoe gliding noiselessly through the reeds, all combine to form a picture so peculiar and strange that I almost imagine myself experiencing some adventure from Jules Verne's fantastic journeys.

When the canoe comes near to us, although out of reach, the boy hesitates as to whether he shall advance, but then takes another powerful pull with the pole so that the canoe is driven up on the land.

It is a youth evidently not yet full-grown. His skin is dark-brown, without tattooing; he has a snake-skin belt round his waist to which two small tiger-cat skins are fastened. He has brought with him a long bow of beautiful shape; it is entirely covered with snake-skin, a suitable adornment for the weapons of the swamp-dwellers. I give him a handful of glass beads and point to the bow, which, to my surprise, he immediately hands to me.

I now want to step into his canoe, but before I can achieve my intention he pushes out and punts away, heedless of me, to the huts, where his folk are probably awaiting his return with anxiety.

We stood there long by the banks, but no Batwa approached again, and so we go away after I had hung up some rows of beads on an easily visible place by the huts, as a present to the shy inhabitants. After lunch we went down again to the swamps.

This time I needed not to wait long before the same youth appears again, and he now lets me get into his canoe. I should have liked to have had Fries with me, but the canoe cannot bear us all.

The boy now punts towards the huts. The canoe consists of a hollowed-out tree trunk, so narrow that even with my slight form I am unable to sit in it. From my childhood I have been accustomed to canoeing, but I have never seen anything to equal this swaying craft, and to keep one's balance standing is no easy matter.

I have to show much respect for the bottomless slush that soon surrounds us on all sides. We arrive, however, at the island without mishap, and I go on land. To say on land is, however, an incorrect expression, for the island consists entirely of quagmire, which is made firmer by layers of bunches of grass and reeds, and at every step the ground shakes and water and mire often rise above the ankles.

The island is at most twenty metres in diameter, and some ten huts are crowded together. They are surrounded by papyrus and a species of stunted rush. A plant resembling *Sagittaria*, also some smaller rushes of papyrus, are even growing out of the grass walls of the small huts.

The huts have a beehive shape of about two metres height and diameter, with door openings scarcely eight decimetres in height. In front of them men, women, and children are sitting. They sit squatting, some fairly dry, thanks to an under-layer of reeds; but the children particularly seem to prefer to take their rest in the middle of the mud, in which they crawl about like big ugly frogs.

I succeed in breaking the ice sooner than I had dared to hope, and make acquaintance with my hosts, and then am able to proceed to the business of exchanging goods. I open the little door fastened with rush and crawl into one of the huts. In the middle of the floor there is a simple clay pot put on some glowing embers; here porridge had been boiled, consisting, as I heard later, of meal prepared from the roots of water-lilies. On the floor (which is so marshy that I could in the hut without difficulty drive into the ground a stout stick a metre long) were lying some woven grass mats, and on lifting one of them I found an under-layer of split reeds bound together so that the mats should not be soaked

by the damp ground. Spoons and bowls from the shells of mussels, turtles, and rinds of gourds, together with some burnt-clay pots, form the most important domestic appliances. A rush mat some decimetres long has evidently just served as a general dish, and water-lily porridge has been dipped into a wooden pot with grease in it.

A bow and a dagger, both ornamented with snake skin, hang from the ceiling (?) and arrows are stuck into the walls. The arrows are poisoned and have barbs as sharp as needles. A few decimetres from the points of the arrows a little cross-bar is fastened so that the arrow, in case of a miss-shot, shall not cut through the reeds and disappear into the sludge. On the walls there are also some lechwe and sitatunga horns, ornamented with strips of skin, pieces of wood, &c. They are fetiches and bring good luck in hunting.

I creep out again into the open air. Some of the men have resumed their occupations. They are tall and strongly built. One is occupied in carving intricate but particularly beautiful ornaments on the hairless side of a lechwe skin. All the women I see are wearing such skins,

with varying ornament, as mantles. The men generally wear shirts of leopard and tiger-cat skin, while the young boys go naked or content themselves with lechwe calf skins.



FIG. 3.—CUPPING: THE HORN STICKS FAST THROUGH AIR PRESSURE. BATWA TRIBES.

the fish become unconscious and float to the top. I was present at such a fishing expedition in which we caught 119 fish in three-quarters of an hour. The poison which is used for stupefying the fishes is prepared from a vegetable of the pea species, which they obtain from the Babisa living on the mainland.



FIG. 2.—CUPPING: THE AIR IS SUCKED OUT OF THE CUP HORN. BATWA TRIBES.

Near one of the huts I perceive a narrow wooden drum, a metre high, covered with lizard skin; my attention is also attracted by another musical instrument with strings of twined grass. Later I saw the drum used at a dance performed by the swamp dwellers on the undulating ground, a dance which was almost identical with that which in a previous chapter I described at the village of the Balenge chief, Chirukutu. In this connection I will also mention that the Batwa people understand how to play on their bow-strings, one of the most primitive methods of producing music, and possibly the basis of all string music.

Outside the hut there are hippopotamus and fish harpoons, also long spears with reed handles. These are thrown at game in what we call Finnish manner. With these spears they kill the lechwe and sitatunga antelopes, and also the enormous pythons, which are to be found in the swamps.

The Batwa, as many other wild people, know how to poison the waters in the swamps, so that

The Batwa speak a dialect of Chibisa (the language of the Babisa people), and many have a hoarse bass voice that is characteristic of the swamp people. The neighbouring negro tribes, all of whom look down upon the Batwa as inferior beings, like to imitate their bass tones, just as they make fun of them in other ways. For example, they say that they have webbed feet. The same reproach is made, according to C. Chekleton,* against the dwellers in the Lukanga swamp, a people whose manner of life much resembles that of the inhabitants of Bangweolo.

In order to ascertain how skilfully the Batwa dive and swim I arranged competitions, and it was really wonderful what a long distance they could swim under water, even where the water-vegetation would seem to bar all progress. Forty - two seconds was, however, the maximum time for such dives through the swamp, full as it was of all kinds of under - water growth. My first visit to the Batwa did not last long, but now the ice was broken, and I

renewed my visits every day, penetrating to villages farther distant in the swamps.

I was astonished that human beings could exist in these mosquito-ridden districts, but I learned through my Babisa interpreter that the Batwa say that they do not suffer much from fever. I had myself the opportunity of seeing how they try to cure themselves when they suffer from fever. An incision is made in the temples, immediately over which a short antelope horn with a perforated point is

Karta öfver
EXPEDITIONENS FÄRD GENOM BANGVEOLO-OMRÅDET.

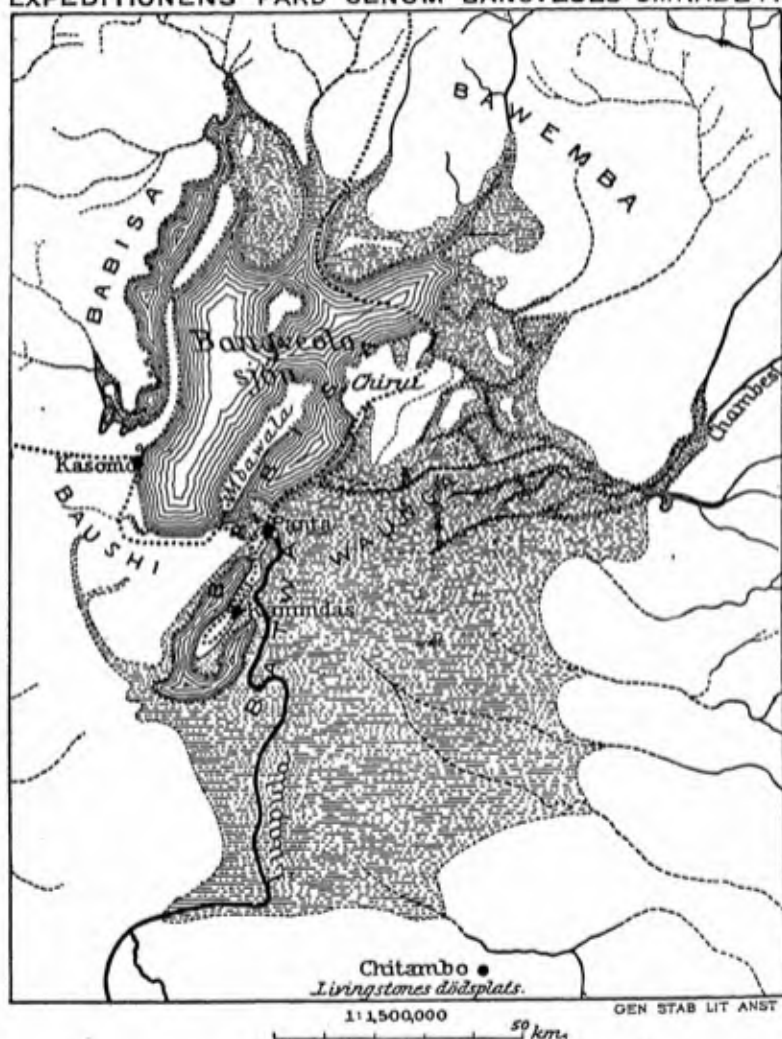


FIG. 4.

* In a report to the Rhodesian Scientific Association.

placed. A companion sucks at the point of the horn and quickly closes the little hole in the point of the horn with a pitchy substance. Through the outer pressure of the air the horn remains firmly to the temples of the patient and works as an ordinary cupping glass.

During the whole period of my stay with these peculiar people, whose manner of life I have briefly depicted in this chapter, I was not once molested in the slightest way. When the Batwa had once grasped that I wanted to get information regarding their life in the swamps, they seemed to be delighted to help me so far as lay in their power. I am also indebted to them to a great extent that the ethnographical collections which I have acquired have been so complete, collections which enormously facilitate the work of the monograph on the Batwa tribes with which I am at present occupied.

The sketch map is taken from "N.E. Rhodesia Provisional Map, by O. L. Beringer, from information collected in the Survey Office, etc." The districts occupied by the different tribes are inserted by Eric von Rosen.

ERIC VON ROSEN.

New Zealand.

Best.

Cremation amongst the Maori Tribes of New Zealand.

By **50**

Elsdon Best.

In the first place it is well to state that cremation was never a common racial custom among the Maori. It was never practised as a general custom to the exclusion of other methods of disposing of the dead. So far as we are aware, the circumstances under which cremation was practised by the natives of these isles were as follows:—

1. When a tribe occupied open country wherein were found no suitable places for the final disposal of bones of the dead after exhumation.
2. When a raiding party (or even peaceful travellers in some cases) lost members by death outside their tribal boundaries.
3. Occasionally practised in order to stay the spread of disease.

In regard to the first condition, we may cite such examples as the Ngati-apa tribe of the Rangitikei District; as also those occupying the Waimate Plains; who, according to Colonel Gudgeon, often cremated their dead at Te Taheke, an old earthwork fort near the present township of Manaia. In this instance some open pits were pointed out by the natives as the places where their dead were sometimes burned in former times.

The Maori was always very particular in concealing the bones of his dead, lest they be discovered by tribal enemies, who would be in great glee at such a discovery, and would at once proceed to manufacture fish-hooks, piercers, flutes, points for bird-spears, &c., out of the said bones.

As to the second condition; cremation of the dead in an enemy's country was common, we believe, to all tribes. When members of a war party were slain under such conditions, their companions would, if not too hard pressed, cremate the bodies. In some cases they would retreat to some secluded spot in the forest, bearing their dead with them, and there burn them. In the case of men of rank, the heads were often cut off, steamed and cured, and taken home, to be wept over by their friends; in which case only the bodies were burned. We have heard of cases in which, when pressed by the enemy, the wounded also were thrown into huge fires and burned. Being too badly wounded to travel, the only thing to do was to burn them, lest their bodies be eaten, and their bones converted into fish hooks, etc., a terrible degradation in Maori eyes. Thus an old native known as Tabu-ora explained that he was so named from the fact that his father, when



FIG. 1.—BATWA MAN, WHO HAS DIVED FOR A WATER LILY.



FIG. 2.—BOWMAN. BATWA TRIBE.



FIG. 3.—BATWA WOMEN.



FIG. 4.—BATWA MAN AT HIS HUT.

seriously wounded in a raid on the west coast tribes, had been burned alive, as the name signifies. Again, when the west coast tribes attacked Ngai-tara at Miramar, two of their chiefs, Te Toko and Whakatau, were slain, and, under cover of night, were cremated at Haewai, in Houghton Bay. So much for cremation in war.

An old native of the east coast informs us that the burning of a human body would be carried out at some rocky or sterile spot, or other place whereat there was no likelihood of food being cultivated in the future, for such would spell misfortune; the place of the dead being intensely *tapu*.

In the case of a person dying when on a visit to a friendly clan, the latter would be almost sure to ask that he be buried at their place, but, in most cases, his friends would carry him home for burial. At such a juncture, one would probably hear quoted the highly curious aphorism, "*He mata kai rangi; kupa he mata kai aruhe*," meaning that the deceased is a person of some standing, not a nobody, and hence they will carry the body home for burial. The Maori ever likes to bury his dead on his own tribal lands. We have seen bodies carried over the roughest bush-clad ranges for several days so that they might be laid with the tribal dead.

In some cases, however, when the task of carrying a body home was reckoned to be too arduous, or possibly for some other reason, a suitable place would be sought away from the path, on the homeward journey, and the body there buried, though the head might possibly be taken.

Again, in the Bay of Plenty district, a singular custom obtained in former times in regard to the bodies of persons who died of *kai uaua*, which, we take it, was consumption. In such cases the body was burned in order to prevent the spread of the malady, and all ashes were carefully buried.

The following account of the burning of the bones of the dead after exhumation was gathered from the northern tribes; we have not heard of it as having been practised as a custom elsewhere. The custom seems to be a singular one, and one marvels why the natives should go to the trouble of carrying out inhumation and exhumation when the bones were to be burned. However, we do not profess to know native modes of thought, as we have only been a little over half a century among them.

"When a dying person is near his end (or just after the breath of life has left the body) his legs are doubled up and a cloak wrapped round him. The body is placed in position for the mourning ceremony, which continues for some days. At the conclusion of this ceremonial, the body is buried, or placed in a tree. Having disposed of the body, the priests return, and proceed to a stream or pond whereat religious ceremonies are performed, and there set up a wooden rod in the water, which rod or wand represents the spirit world and the defunct. The *tohunga ariki*, or head priest, then recites the following formula:—

"Thou wand of the Po (spirit world): the great Po, the long Po, the dark Po, the unseen Po, the unsought Po. Stand there, ye wand, wand of *tane*, wand of the Po: Depart for ever to the Po."

The wand and ritualistic utterance are both for the dead, and the object is to cause the *wairua* or spirit of the dead to proceed at once on its way to the Po or spirit world, to join the myriads who have already gone there, lest it remain in this world and plague the living.

The officiating priest then sets up in the stream another rod or wand, which represents this world and the living denizens thereof, and recites:—

"Thou wand of this world: the great world, the long world, the dark world. Stand there, ye wand, the wand of Hikurangi, the wand of this world, of the world of light. Remain in this world."

The priests then return to the village, the items presented as "wrappers" for

the dead are handed over to relatives, the *Taumaha* ritual is recited over the foods for the funeral feast.

Three summers pass away, the bones are reclaimed from earth or tree, and burned with fire. Prior to such burning certain foods for a ritual feast are cooked in *tapu* ovens, while the priest extracts the teeth from the skull, ties them to a wand, and then, holding up the wand in his hand, he repeats a certain formula. Then, when the shades of night fall, the bones of the dead are burned.

The second charm is to preserve the life and welfare of the living. Hikurangi is a mountain in the original homeland of the Maori race, a famed and sacred mount, the abode of the Bird of the Sun.

These brief notes comprise all that we have to offer on the subject of cremation among the Maori folk of New Zealand; the custom was never a common one, and was only resorted to under certain circumstances, as we have shown.

For the benefit of non-residents in these isles, it may be as well to state that the practice of cremation has long been discontinued among the Maori, though cases are known in which the bodies of our dead were burned by the hostiles during the late unpleasantness in the 'sixties.

ELSDON BEST.

England: Archaeology.

Peake: Manley.

Description of a Bronze Flat Celt in the Newbury Museum. By 51

Harold Peake. *With a Report on an Analysis of the Alloy by John J. Manley, Daubeny Laboratory, Magdalen College, Oxford.*

The flat celt which is here illustrated belongs to the Borough of Newbury Museum, and was formerly in the museum belonging to the Newbury Literary and Scientific Institution. It is said to have been found near Newbury, but the exact site of its discovery is unknown.

In a MS. catalogue of the old museum compiled in 1854, by James White Roake, the curator at that time, it is thus described: "I. 63. Three bronze spearheads or celts. Supposed "to have been manufactured and used by the ancient Britons. "Exhumed in the neighbourhood of Newbury. Deposited by "J. W. Roake."

Then follow extracts from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The two other celts are of a later type.

This celt is 170 mm. long, 76 mm. wide at the cutting edge, 34 mm. wide at the other end, and 11.5 mm. thick. Its sides seem to have been hammered so as to exhibit faint traces of flanges; there are no signs of a stop ridge. Its weight was 520 grams, but 3 grams were removed for analysis by Professor H. J. Bowman, and were handed over to Mr. John J. Manley, who has kindly contributed the following account.

H. PEAKE.

THE CHEMICAL COMPOSITION OF THE BRONZE.

In December 1911, I received from Professor Bowman 3 grams of drillings which had been removed from the above-named flat bronze celt. These drillings have recently been analysed under my supervision by one of my pupils, Mr. E. A. Berrisford, of Queen's College Oxford. Two perfectly independent analyses were carried out, and, with the object of securing the greatest possible degree of accuracy, all the weighings were effected with a previously fully-tested and highly sensitive long beam Oertling balance, by the methods of reversal and vibration. Beyond stating that every care was taken to exclude the introduction of foreign matter and

to obtain the separated constituents in a pure condition, it is probably unnecessary to detail the methods of analysis. The results may be conveniently summarised as follows :—

				No. 1.		No. 2.	
				Gram.	Per Cent.	Gram.	Per Cent.
Weight of bronze taken -	-	-	-	0·5107	gram.	0·4410	gram.
Weight of tin found -	-	-	-	·0453	= 8·87	·0371	= 8·41
Weight of copper found	-	-	-	·4664	= 91·33	·4029	= 91·36
Total	-	-	-	·5117	= 100·20	·4400	= 99·77
Means :—							
				Per Cent.			
Tin	-	-	-	-	-	8·64	
Copper	-	-	-	-	-	91·35	
Total	-	-	-	-	-	99·99	

It may be observed that in analysis No. 1, the found "total" is 0·001 grams in excess of the weight of bronze actually taken, whilst in analysis No. 2 the found "total" is deficient by a like amount. These variations are ascribed to unavoidable errors associated with the particular methods of analysis employed. As will be seen, they are equal to ± 1 part in 500.

An initial qualitative analysis revealed the presence of a minute trace of iron the quantity of which was too small to be duly estimated. The iron may possibly have been introduced during the operation of drilling. J. J. MANLEY.

Africa, West.

Palmer.

"Bori" among the Hausas. By H. R. Palmer.

In a recent work* dealing with Nigerian tribes there is mention of *bori* dances among the Hausas. The author in a fascinating chapter discusses the origin of *bori*. It would appear, however, that Dr. Frobenius misconceives in some respects the meaning of the word *bori*.

He uses such phrases as "The Bori have a religion," "The Bori's religion," "The Bori has . . . been fused with the old clan organisation," "The Bori's usual appearance in the streets," etc., from which it is to be inferred that he regards *bori* as people, though in another passage he writes, "Animism is the religious basis of the Bori, a philosophy which, through the agency of spirits or demons, endues every object, and especially parts of nature such as stones, trees, and rivers, with a soul."

Bori is a Hausa common noun, and means a sacred and occult force which resides in matter.† It is distinguished from *maita*, which is more particularly the power exercised by certain persons, *maigû*, i.e., wizards or witches, over *bori*, and the objects in which it is resident, and *boka*, which is the science of medicine—the science of medicine, however, of the Middle Ages.

The word *bori* itself seems to be from the same root as the Hausa word *borassa*, which now means distilled spirits, as opposed to the native palm wine and other similar drinks. The original meaning of *borassa* may be seen from Professor Masqueray's note on this word—Berber form *aurassen*.‡

* Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, Chap. XXVI.

† The same idea apparently as the Melanesian *maia*.

‡ Quoted by Rinn Berbers, p. 228.

"This word *aurassen** is very remarkable. It is used to denote those things the Mozabites† were debarred from using, such as tobacco for smoking, and wine. It is too like the word *auras* (*auras*), of which it seems to be the plural, not to be suggestive. One may perhaps hold that the name *auras*, of which the meaning is now lost, was a sort of equivalent of the Latin *sacer*. There are several hills called *ighil aures* ("Hill of Aures"). These hills were surely in remote times hills of sacrifice?"‡

The writer has a note, taken some years ago, that a Mallam once told him that there were two words in the Hausa language of which no one knew the origin. One was *aras*, which, he said, was equivalent to "Allah," the other was *serbu*, which meant "with deference to," e.g., *serbu adamu*, with due deference to Adamu.

Aras seems to be the old Berber singular of *aurassen*, of which Professor Masqueray conjectured the existence.

Another Hausa word which contains the same idea as *bori* is the word *baura*. A *baura* is a metal bracelet with two sharp rims like flanges worn on the wrist by players at the game called *baura* (now practically obsolete). It was a "sacred" game. The object of the players was to cut open the head of an opponent with the *baura*, which was worn on the right arm. The left arm had simply a small shield of hide, while an apron was worn in front. The blood from a cut head was particularly virtuous, and the sick assembled from far and near to get some and anoint themselves with it. *Baura*, in fact, was very much like the Fulani game of *sharro* or *shadi*, except that the *baura* above described was used instead of a whip like *sharro*.

Baura was probably part of the initiation ceremonies at puberty.

Dr. Frobenius, in describing these dances, states that they are presided over by a female called *magadja*. The real Hausa word is not *magadja* but *magajia*, i.e., "she who has inherited" (masc. *magaji*), and is more usually called *sauraunia* ("Queen").

He also writes "that the Hausas have kept the *bori* faith freest from adulteration . . . [in] the ancient realm of Korowfa. . . . We shall get the best insight into the original significance and import of the *bori* among the Benne-Hausa." *Bori* still flourishes freely in the Hausa countries, and, viewed as a Hausa institution, is more "pure" (if such a word can be used) in Hausaland where the people speak "Hausa."

Among the Maguzawa (Hausa Pagans) it is a chief who presides at the dances, and sacrifices to the deities. It is only in the large towns that their cult has got into the hands of professional *bori* men and women, who not only direct the dances but in many cases make quite a good income by foretelling the success, or otherwise, of mercantile ventures, aiding in love troubles, etc.

Still, to the mind of the Hausa, these deities are, as Dr. Frobenius implies, "Spirits of the Corn and Wild," and that is why the Hausas call the Pagan or Bush Fulani *Aborawa*, that is to say, the people who worship the spirits of the wild.

The connection of prostitution with these dances is an interesting subject. "Uwargona," the Hausa earth mother, has a dual personality. She is *ta hwanchi* (i.e., "the sleeping = winter" and *ta tseyi* (i.e., "the uprising = spring"). *Uwargona*, *ta tseyi* is typified in the *gugua* whirlwinds of sand which come in the spring before the first rains fall.

* Cf. also the word *merissa* ("ale") used in the Egyptian Sudan.

† i.e., the Beni M'Zab of the Aures Mountains, in Algeria.

‡ One of the two Hausa words for native brewed beer, *dam*, is also apparently connected with the same ideas. A *dama* was a "high-place" or shrine in Hewbren. (See Robertson-Smith Pr. el Sem, p. 496.) The intoxication of *bori* girls is sometimes produced by a species of "hemp" grown in Borgia.

At the great spring *gâni* festival (noticed by Dr. Frobenius), at which there was a good deal of *bori* dancing, very great license was permitted, and it was thought no shame if a maiden at this feast did what would have meant summary punishment at any other time of the year. The word *gâni* is derived from a root which means to "foretell" or "augur." It was at the *gâni* festival that omens were sought as to the success, or otherwise, of the ensuing season's crop, either by planting trial plots and watering them, or by pouring out seeds from a calabash taken up a high tree, and auguring from their distribution.

It has been observed by French scholars that, as a rule those Berber roots, which are termed Boto-Semitic, that is to say, those which are, as far as can be judged, not borrowed directly from classical Arabic, or other Semitic tongues, show a root in two consonants where the Semitic languages have three. Hausa having no strong gutturals *nh*, *h*, and *k* are represented by "k," sometimes by "h," and sometimes by "f"—while *k* again often becomes "g." For instance, the Arabic root of *harim* ("noble") *k-r-m* is represented in Hausa directly by the word *girma* ("greatness"). This word is borrowed, but the two first consonants of the root, namely, *k* and *r*, are found in many Hausa and Berber words which convey the same meaning. The following are some examples:—*Gar'aa*, or *gal'aa* ("sacred enclosure"), *gari* ("town"), *harifi* ("strength"), *g'ar* ("rock"), *gilgiji* ("storm cloud"), *garkwa* ("shield"), *kore* ("to defeat in battle"), *kurchia* ("a dove—sacred"), *ka(r)chia* ("circumcision"), *kirrari* ("song of praise for a spirit"), *kurmi* ("a grove"), *kraria* (the Hausa form of *galaa*, a sacred place really for *hkraria*), *kurum* ("silence"), *kururua* ("cry aloud"), *kurua* ("soul" or "spirit"), *ma-kurwa* ("partridge which the 'soul' inhabits," cf. Egyptian *ba*), *hurma* ("deaf"), *kura* ("hyena"), *kuri* ("son of Uwardawa"), *kurege* ("jerboa"), *korto* ("adulterer"), *korjini* ("terrifying"), *harri* ("a dog"—dogs are sacred among most Berber tribes).^{*} All the above words centre round the two ideas of (a) nobility, (b) holiness, which are very closely allied and are both *sacer*, as opposed to "profane."

In Arabic the root of the words *haram*, *harim*, etc. ("holiness") is *k-r-m*, which is borrowed by Hausa in words like *hurumi* ("land reserved"), *haram* ("evil"), etc.

As with the root *k-r*, so with *h-r*. In Hausa we have—

Hura—to blow (cf. *kuruwa*, "soul").

Hore—to punish (cf. *kore*, "to defeat").

Hurua—to put earth on the head ("adoration").

Harafi—letters (cf. *tafi*, "palm of hand," and *tafinar*, "the Tuang script").

Furuchi—to make confession.

Fara—to begin (cf. Arabic *fara'a*, "first fruits").

In Arabic it is apparent that the ideas conveyed by the roots *k-r-m* and *h-r-m* are cognate. Similarly in Hausa the two roots *k(g)-r* and *h(f)-r* are cognate, and connote "holiness" (*sacer*) and things which are made or are "holy," by what Robertson-Smith termed the "infection of holiness."

The "*bori* dances" are looked upon as disreputable, because the *bori* girls on the occasion of these dances commit immoral acts, and, nowadays they are, in fact, usually-prostitutes (*haruwé*).

In Hausa the word *karua*, the singular of *karuwé*, means at the present time a person of immoral character, male or female. *Karma* is a derivative of the same root *k-r*, meaning "profligacy."[†] It is, however, obvious that *karma* had not always an altogether bad sense, because there still exists in a great many Hausa towns the office of *Sarkin Karma* ("King of Karma"). The *Sarkin Karma* was called in other places, *Sarkin Selmayi* ("King of the Youths"), and in some places (e.g.,

^{*} The Hausa Pagans do not eat "dog," like the Gwari, Yomba, and other tribes to the south.

[†] Cf. *korto* (adulterer) *supra*.

Katsina) was chosen every year at the time of the festival to be a kind of "King of Misrule." Among the chief forms of amusement at the festival was the *Wasau Kara*, or play of "corn stalks." This consisted of lighting torches made of corn-stalks and throwing them about. Another form of *Kara* and its diminutive is *Karmâmi*.

*Kurua** by etymology may therefore be either the "mother of the corn stalk," that is to say, Uwargona the mother goddess, or "the noble or holy one." In either case it would appear that the *bori* dances were held in Uwargona's honour at the time of the spring festival of *gani* and the *karnuw* were identified with her. We have noted the connection between *bori* and the game of *baura*. It may be added that *baura* again is probably the same word as *bûra* (*phallos*), which is a derivative of the Berber root *our* or *eiur*, which means "man" (*vir*) and "the moon." The "moon" is in Hausa and several Berber dialects masculine, the story being that it is a boy (*yaro=eiuro*) which his mother the sun (*rava*) chases round the sky.

Another aspect of the mother goddess of the Hausas is as Uwardawa ("mother of the bush"). She is then usually associated not with Gajimari but with Kûri, whose name again appears to be derived from this same root *our*.† Kuri is sometimes stated to be the son and sometime the husband of "Uwardawa," and becomes the "hyena."

The word *serbu* mentioned above suggests a further group of native ideas in the same category. At the beginning of the "Kano Chronicle" printed some years ago in the *Royal Anthropological Journal* is mentioned the worship of something called *tchuburburai* or *tchunburburai*. The writer was for some time unable to find out precisely what was meant by this word, but finally elicited from the best authority in the country that it "was the same thing as a *jigo* or *Gamsami* (lit. "Son of the Queen," i.e., phallic pole). *Tchububurai*‡ is obviously a plural, of which the singular must be some such word as *tchuburi*.

Tchuburi, which, as now vocalised, is pronounced *chibiri*, *tsibeli*, or *tsiberi*, usually means either (1) a ball of mud, or (2) an island. Later on in the "Kano Chronicle" it is used of some magical object which could be carried into battle. The connection seems to be supplied by the word *shûri* (a contraction for *shûburi*), which means an "ant-hill," that is to say, a "cone" (*phallos*). The identification is made practically certain because the Bush Fulani—and probably others—hold these "ant-hills" sacred, and pour milk into them as an oblation to the immanent deity.

It would, then, appear that the *Tchibiri* mentioned in the "Kano Chronicle" were "cones" similar to the "Tanit cones" which have been found in such numbers in North Africa. These "cones" were worshipped in a grove which included a *g'ala*—the *g'ala* of *Tchuburburai*.

Now *g'ala* is not a modern Hausa word; nor has any possible explanation of it come to light, unless it is the *g'ala* or *g'eloa* of the North African Berbers, a well-known institution; in fact, the sacred storehouse of the clan.

Hausa is a Berber language. Whatever may be said of the people there is no possible doubt that the language came from the Sahara—and probably the north of the Sahara, for it has more in common with the dialects spoken there than with Tamashék.§

There seems, therefore, to be no valid reason why an explanation of the name "Tanit," which would occur to any student of Hausa, should not be correct, that is

* Cf. *korto* (adulterer) *supra*.

† Compare the words *gûri* ("lust") and *dûri* ("vagina"). The Berber root *err* ("to burn") seems to be cognate to all these words.

‡ Cf. the word *burbura* (Hausa) of "boys to feel manhood."

§ See René Basset, *Kabyle Grammar*, p. i.

to say she was *T-innaq-t* (*inna* is the Fulani word for mother and the Hausa word for maternal aunt).

"Uwardawa," the mother goddess of the bush, is called either *ba-filatana* (i.e., the "Fulani woman") or *inna*. The former name is considered a euphemism, and her name of *inna* is rather avoided by the Hausas, who appear to stand in particular dread of her and Gajimori.

A rather interesting point which I noted is that her face is never seen, but only her feet, and the interesting speculation arises as to whether this has any connection with the fact that at Carthage Tanit was always "Pere Baal," i.e., with the face of Baal-Ammon.

The Fulani worship *sambo*, the son or husband of *inna*, by pouring milk into ant hills.

Sambo is peculiarly the "cattle god," and, as far as is known, the Pagan Fulani have no other divinities but *inna* and *sambo*.

In view of the observations made above the writer feels justified in suggesting that the Hausa Pagan religion was not a local animistic cult, but rather a reflex of the Berber religions of North Africa, and that the *bori* dances were dances held in honour of a mother goddess called by the Libyans Tanit, and that the "prostitutes" who now frequent these dances were originally devotees.* H. R. PALMER.

Fiji.

Masks in Fiji. By A. M. Hocart.

Hocart.

53

Mr. Joyce once directed my attention to the Fijian wigs in the British Museum. On my return to Fiji I accordingly made enquiries as to their use, and thus came into possession of the following facts, which are of some interest, as they bring Fiji into the circle of peoples who use ceremonial masks.

I am indebted to my learned friend, Saimone Ngonedha, of Naokorosule, in South-Eastern Dholo,† for the first and best account. His memory, which is remarkable, was assisted and amplified by Nafitalai, an exceedingly old man.

"Wigs (*ulumate*) were used for the *nggidha* of the Brazilian plum (*wi*) and the *nduruka*.‡ The Brazilian plum trees were not very common, and when ripe might not be eaten, but men came and told the people who planted the trees, 'We want to bear the *nggidha* of the plums.' This was approved; it was not refused, but always approved; but if the plums were not brought to the owners they got angry. Men called *nggidha* were selected to look after the trees. They wore wigs and a bandage of bark cloth was tied over the face below the eyes, and was called *mata vula* (white face). The whole body was covered with banana leaves. Their speech consisted in 'ksh, ksh.' They never walked, but ran. People fled before them; the reason was that he (*sic*) wore another man's hair and might spear anyone. It was taboo to resist a *nggidha*. It was taboo to call him by his name; he was addressed as *nggidha*.

"The fruit might not be gathered by anyone, but the *nggidha* went with their men to gather them and bring them to the common house (*mbure*). When the time to 'pour out' the plums had come, notice was sent round to all the common houses in which it was intended to pour them out. The women would then prepare food.

* It is rather curious that the word for "bitch" in Hausa (*karia*) is the same as the word of "prostitute" (*karna*), for the feminine terminations *ia* and *na* are the same. In the temples of Astarte both male and female "sacred prostitutes" were called *kelbim* ("dogs"). See Barton, *Semitic Origins* p. 251, note (2).

† For the sense in which I use South-Eastern Dholo, North-Eastern Dholo, &c., see *An Ethnographical Sketch of Fiji*.

‡ A kind of cane, of which the inflorescence is eaten raw, boiled, or roasted, and makes an excellent vegetable and a constant dish in Dholo in May and June. The leaves are used for thatch.

The plums were brought and distributed among the owners. The *nggidha* took off their wigs and ate the food. They might speak when their wigs were off. After eating they put their wigs on again. The people gave them spears and other articles (*iyau*), which the *nggidha* kept till all the plums were fallen; they then divided them.

"Plums taken to another village were paid for in manufactured articles (*iyau*).

"There was a *nggidha* also for *nduruka*, but not every year as for the Brazilian plum, but only when the crop was reserved for presentation to another village."

It should be noted that in Verata, on the eastern coast of Viti Levu, *nggidha* is the long and unwashed hair worn by children during their period of *yaws*.

In Waisomo, a little higher up than Nakorosule, they had *nggidha* for Brazilian plums and *nduruka*. The man was not selected from any particular clan, but he must be a man in his prime, as he had to run. He wore a wig and dressed in bark-cloth so as to be *tambu*.

Josua, of Sowiri, of North-Eastern Dholo, had nothing of interest to add. In his country the *nggidha*'s face was blackened and his head crowned with leaves; his body was covered with leaves so that no part might appear.

Among the Noikoro, a South-Western Dholo tribe, we find the custom under the name of *veli*. Now the *veli* among the High Fijians is a dwarfish being that still lives in the woods and re-echoes the shouts of men. This suggests that the masked figures represent some non-human being; but I have not been able to find anything in Fiji that would add to this bare suggestion. Other parts of Melanesia may supply the necessary facts.

Among the Noikoro the elders (*turanga*) in council would decide to have the *veli* when the sugar cane or the fruit trees were taboo. Some men put on wigs of black hair* and covered the whole body, even to the face, with spathes (*vulo*) of the cocoanut. They wore high caps of the same material. This dress was called *turi*. They spoke in a high-pitched voice. They carried spears and throwing clubs, with which they struck people, who fled in fear to the bush.

My Noikoro informant told me that a festival (*solevu*) was held that the man might no longer enter the *veli* (*me oti ni dhuruma na veli*), that is, to end his *veli*-ship. He explained the expression he used by saying that the man "entered the cocoanut spathes." This and the expression quoted above, to bear, or carry, the *nggidha*, suggest that the attire was not merely a disguise, but had originally some individuality of its own.

Among the Kai Ndavutukia in Saru, a Lower Singatoka tribe, we have an interesting example of the degeneration of a serious custom into play, for the *veli* is there no more than a buffoon. Two men would dress in faded banana leaves and wear a mask of cocoanut spathes with eyeholes burnt into them. They would sit in a house with spears in their hands and keep putting out their tongues to make the people laugh; then they would move on to another place. Their only use was to provoke the jests of the assembled people.

A. M. HOCART.

REVIEWS.

Africa, South.

Junod.

The Life of a South African Tribe. By Henri A. Junod. Vol. II. 9 inches by 6 inches. Pp. 1-574.

54

This second volume of Mr. Junod is full of valuable matter, though it cannot be said to be equal to the first in interest. The same careful study so abundantly manifested in the first volume has been maintained, but the writer has had to meet greater difficulties in dealing with his subject. The difficulties seem to be due to

* That is, hair that has not been dyed

changes in the tribe owing to contact with higher culture and an advanced code of civilisation. Many customs have been modified, leaving only a few indications of their importance; for example, in agriculture we are given a number of restrictions (pp. 28-30) which are deeply interesting, but they also point to others which have been dropped, and that the work of investigation has been great. The introduction of new kinds of trees, such as orange, lemon, and mango must necessarily have helped to weaken old tree spirit beliefs, and the new methods of agriculture have tended to break down old habits and beliefs. Again, in industrial life, carpentering, pottery, smithery, &c., the introduction of new ideas with new tools such as we note (pp. 111-136), especially in carpentering, with the common use of chairs, tables, and houses with a new type of architecture, these new habits kill the old, which are banished and swept away without any record kept unless there is some person on the spot to note them. Again, in dress the change is complete, so also in social life the old is almost forgotten. Hunting seems to have retained more of its early customs; the incestuous act of a father before going to hunt hippopotamus (p. 60) and the many carefully explained taboos, are of deep interest and value to science. Primitive religion has passed into an entirely new phase, there seems to be little of what must have been deeply instructive left. Great attention and care has been devoted to the reproduction of music and folk-lore, with excellent results. Great credit is due to Mr. Junod for the care with which he has carried out his work, and we are indebted to him for his valuable contribution to the Anthropology of Africa. The printer's arrangement of the book may be distasteful to most English readers. A map would have been useful, and a fuller index would have added to the value of the deeply interesting work.

J. ROSCOE.

Art.

Spearing.

The Childhood of Art. By H. G. Spearing. With 16 plates in colour and 482 illustrations in black and white. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1912. 55

Mr. Spearing has set himself an ambitious task, but one which needed doing and is well worth the effort. The keynote of the book is given in the sub-title, "The Ascent of Man, a sketch of the vicissitudes of his upward struggle, based chiefly on the relics of his artistic work in prehistoric times." The author is quite aware of the manifold difficulties to be overcome in treatment, interpretation, and matter. With regard to the last he points out that "the historian has to gather the crumbs that fall from the explorer's table, and the food he gets is sometimes not easily digestible. Occasionally the law of copyright about illustrations prevents him from even picking up the crumbs." We are thankful to him for the trouble he has been at to give the original sources of the very numerous, beautiful, and apposite illustrations. The labour of selecting these and acquiring the permission for reproduction must have been very great.

The book deals with the art of the cave period of palaeolithic man in Europe, North African petroglyphs, the art of Ancient Egypt, Chaldean art, Cretan art, the humble origins and the triumph of Greek art, and contains various discussions on the origins of drawing, schematism and stylisation, and the like. A few references are given in the text, but more will be found in the useful notes at the end of the volume. The author has evidently taken great pains to ensure accuracy in his statements; he has, however, unwittingly done injustice to the artist who carved the wonderful horse's head shown in Fig. 13, as the drawing is nearly twice the actual size—not "half." Mr. Spearing's book can be commended to those who are interested in pictorial and religious art, and archaeologists, ethnologists, and art students especially will find it informing.

It is not to be expected that all Mr. Spearing's inferences will be accepted by his colleagues. For example, on p. 61 he says, "Children and savages will often say that the vague lines they scribble do really represent certain definite things. Are we justified in accepting their assertions? No. Unless the meaning they attribute to their scribbles can be recognised independently by some other people these marks cannot be said to have any meaning at all. Recognition, therefore, would seem to be the test of their art value." Mr. Spearing in this remark shows, what indeed is evident in other places, that he has not followed with sufficient attention the work which has been done by various investigators in the decorative art of diverse backward peoples. It is a well-established fact that the Plains Indians of North America, in their porcupine quill embroidery, beadwork, and painted skin robes and parfleches, draw a number of simple designs which may vary in significance. They have a definite meaning for the artist, but unless information is given it is not possible in many cases to say what a particular simple design is intended to represent, still less the concept of the whole design. The Arapaho, for instance, as Kroeber points out, admit the significance of all their designs. "We make nothing without a reason." "It is difficult to get an Indian to communicate to comparative strangers or foreigners anything of a religious or a private nature, as the ornamentation always is. He will hardly ever express a guess at the meaning of any design which he has not personally made or seen made in his own family, and is even then unwilling to express his opinion of its meaning" (a lesson some of us might well learn!) Everything that looks like an ornament or decoration, however simple it may be, while it may have to the Indian a decorative value, "has, at bottom, a realistic meaning," and invariably "has a connection with religion" (*Scientific American*, Supplement, November 10th, 1900, p. 20784). Designs of this kind have an absolute decorative value; the details of the design can be variously interpreted, but the design has a special significance for the artist, and may express a prayer or even a dream.

A. C. HADDON.

Mexico: Archæology.

Joyce.

Mexican Archaeology. By T. A. Joyce. With many illustrations and a map. London: Philip Lee Warner. 1914. **56**

It was a bold venture to attempt to condense into one small volume the work of four centuries of writers and investigators on ancient Mexico, but Mr. T. A. Joyce has achieved success by going to the fountain-head, to Sahagun and the other early Spanish historians, and by presenting their evidence in simple and coherent fashion. Details have been omitted necessarily, but the history, religion, gods, the calendar, festivals, and the general condition of the people are skilfully sketched, and readers may be led to continue the study for themselves. For this a bibliography is needed, as the works are difficult to find in the British Museum catalogue,* and one should be supplied in a future edition. That by Dr. W. Lehmann (to which reference is made) is not easily available.

The clear account of the complicated Maya calendar-systems is particularly helpful to beginners in that abstruse subject, and so are the provisional scheme of dating and the comparative table of migrations and rulers given in Appendix III. All Maya reckoning, recorded on dated monuments, is from a certain day, i.e., "4 ahau 8 Cumhu," and on stela C at Quirigua this is seen to be the concluding date of a "cycle 13," which must be the last cycle of the preceding grand cycle. Mr. Joyce gives reasons for suggesting that this zero point was the year 3643 B.C.,

* For instance, Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucathan* must be looked for under "Lopez, Cogolludo." There is an excellent bibliography in Dr. Spinden's *Maya Art*.

not an excessive period for the development of an art so elaborate and conventionalised as that associated with the Maya. The Mexican calendar was simpler, but the twenty day-names and their signs, the eighteen months and the feasts belonging to them in the solar year of 365 days, and the *tonalamatl* reckoning of 260 days with the accompanying gods, need some patience to learn and a knowledge of the Nahuatl or "Mexicano" language. This resembles German and Japanese in the matter of composite words. Place-names are often long, but are easily understood because each part has a definite meaning. Few of the foreign writers on things Mexican have troubled to learn the language, although the power of conversing freely with the Nahuatl-speaking people would be a great help to the understanding of their history. Many traditions must be kept alive among them, secluded as they have been in remote farms and villages, whence they come only occasionally for markets or pilgrimages. The owners of those refined, thoughtful faces would be well worth knowing. The peons of the haciendas are now quite a mongrel race, different from those who have kept their independence in isolation.

Nahuatl is especially worth study because, owing to this isolation and the fact that it has been chiefly a spoken tongue, there are many variations and dialects. Two students at the Museo Nacional, from different districts, found that each could add to the vocabulary of the other. The many shades of ceremonial and polite expressions indicate a long period of cultivation. The Nahuatl towns of Tuxpan (Jalisco) and Amatlan, near Cordoba, would be suitable places for study, though Tepoztlan considers itself the intellectual centre, and had a newspaper a few years ago printed in the ancient language. At Tetlama, near Xochicalco, the men mix many Spanish words with their own. It is probable that the women everywhere speak their language with greater purity.

A few comments may be made on the vast store of information collected in this work. It is scarcely correct to say that the Mexican plateau is bordered by converging chains of lofty mountains, because the great volcanoes stand up as islands and in many places the plateau lies open to descent on one side or the other. The apparent high mountain range seen from the low country north of Vera Cruz is really only slightly raised above the edge of the present plateau. On the Pacific side, speaking roughly, there is no mountain barrier between the plateau and the lower country. The valley of Mexico itself is partly shut in by mountains but there are wide levels between them. Very great changes have taken place in the topography, owing to the country having been at some time raised up far beyond its present height; immense denudation followed, and there was recent volcanic action on an equal scale. Discoveries of antiquarian importance are likely to be made in the limestone regions that lie beyond these disturbing forces.

The tradition of the journey of the dead to Mictlan (p. 102) seems based on recollections of the former Anahuac in the Sierra Madre of Guerrero (once thickly inhabited). The dead may have been taken back there for burial, after a migration, when they would have had to pass between mountains, over deserts, to encounter huge boa constrictors and Gila monster lizards, and to cross the deep Rio de Mexcala. In the notice of Tlaxcala (p. 114) it is said to have been "erroneously" mentioned as a republic, but the early Spanish writers used that word for any form of political government. The "four cities" named were adjacent quarters of the capital, Tepeticpac and Ocotelolco being on opposite hills overlooking the modern town of Tlaxcala. The State contained many other towns, such as may be seen at present, with a *teocalli* (now replaced by a church) and a plaza surrounded by flat-roofed dwellings, each with its enclosed bit of garden land, each owner a peasant proprietor. The making of tortillas, which occupies so much of the women's time, is not described, though it must have been always a fundamental part of

existence. The transition from the maternal nourishment to the dry tortilla accounts partly for the high mortality amongst children.

The full account of Mexican daily life is followed by a too short notice of some of the architectural remains. The niched pyramid, known locally as El Tajin (p. 182) is not at Papantla but four or five miles away, and the sculptured stone reliefs there are of great interest. According to tradition, the inhabitants of the important ancient city (supposed to be Tusapam) on a mesa near Chicualoque, migrated in consequence of a famine and settled there. Niched buildings, similar to the Tajin, form a square on a site below Cuetzala, some distance south of Papantla. The ruins of Cempoala are at the modern village of Agostadero, north of the station of San Francisco, on the railway between Jalapa and Vera Cruz. Explorers lose much time through scanty or erroneous information as to the places they are seeking.

The great variety of hand-made pottery found on the island of Sacrificios (p. 193) is due to the sacred nature of the spot and the coming there of pilgrims from all parts of the Gulf of Mexico and from a wide region inland. It is probable that places where fine hand-made painted pottery is still produced were always famous for that art.

Information from many sources has been gathered in the second part of the book, devoted to the religion, calendar, and life of the Maya. Criticism is not needed, and where so much pains has been taken to secure accuracy, it is rather ungracious to mention minor errors inevitable in a compilation. It should be noted, however, that there are no reliefs on the inner walls of the Ball Court at Chichen Itza (see Fig. 60). On page 348 these reliefs are correctly described as being in a building attached to the Ball Court. This appears to be an audience-chamber rather than a temple, and is on the outer side of the wall, on ground-level, and facing what must have been a great square in front of the Castillo.

The useful map has Mitla where Etlá should be, Mitla being east of Tlaxiaco. Tzintzuntzan should be on the peninsula in the lake of Patzcuaro. Mr. Joyce has added yet another spelling to Montezuma. The early Spanish writers called him by that name, or Moteçuma, presumably as they heard it pronounced.

There seems insufficient reason to assume that Palenque is a late site because the present buildings are late in style, any more than an English cathedral could be dated in the same way. A place so sacred as appears from the number of buildings still standing, which were almost certainly temples, and the remains of mounds containing burial chambers, and covering a large space of ground in all directions,* must have been frequented for a long period. The buildings may have been renewed and the dates of the first foundation retained. The fact that the early dates are on stone slabs in sanctuaries and that the archaic looking figures in relief at the Palace are on stone, in contrast to the stucco ornamentation in general, would lead one to suppose that they belonged to a different period. The extreme damp of Palenque may have caused it to be considered a special abode of the rain deity. That particular area is peculiar for its heavy rainfall.

The bottle-shaped stone chambers called chultunes, in Yucatan, are similar to those in Peru, in Ecuador, in Grand Canary, and in Central France (Charente), where they are known as *silos*. The tripod bowls with feet which terminate in animal or human heads (p. 309) have been found on the border of Michoacan and Guerrero, in the valley of the Río de las Balsas. That region has produced great quantities of fine stone ornaments and masks. The destruction of "idols" by Landa is probably the cause of the small number of images in Yucatan. The processions of loaded carts at that time astonished a contemporary writer.

Mr. Joyce's "conclusions" are cautious, sane, and afford good foundation for

* Maudsláy, text, Vol. III., p. 15.

future research. He will find that the name Toltec has been confused owing to its application to the inhabitants of Tollan=reed (*tolora* in the Quichua of Bolivia), or marshy place, and to the *totol* people, the blue turkey people=*Tutul xiu*, the "blue bird." At the Toluca museum there are some reliefs with blue turkeys, discovered in the neighbourhood.

In a work of this kind the illustrations are an important feature, and in this case represent well the different subjects treated, though some more examples of the complex ornament on Maya façades would have been welcome. The frontispiece is an especially fine example of reproduction.

A. C. B.

Linguistics.

Johnston.

Phonetic Spelling, a Proposed Universal Alphabet for the rendering of English, French, German, and all other Forms of Speech. By Sir Harry Johnston. Pp. vi. + 92. Price, 3s. 6d. net. Cambridge University Press, 1913. 57

Towards the close of this booklet the author says that if any change is to be made in the direction of spelling English, etc., phonetically, that change must be a complete one and the system adopted be severely logical; and elsewhere he expresses himself with fitting severity on the hermaphrodite ideas of the Simplified Spelling Society, which do not justify serious discussion. The R.G.S. system, which casts an autediluvian gloom over the last edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, is naturally unworthy of mention.

If we ask what are the requisites of a phonetic system, the reply is that it must be (a) adequate and (b) convenient both for script and print. The success of the author in actual transcription, though a subsidiary point, is not without its bearing.

Before we can judge of the adequacy of this system, we should have some information as to its basis, i.e., as to which variety of English speech the author regards or chooses as ideal. In the present system *ō* represents the vowel sounds in "store" and "Maud," which for many people are absolutely distinct; on the other hand, a digraph *eo* is employed for the vowel sound in "there." Again, *ω* represents the vowel sound in "soul," usually a diphthong, but is likewise employed for the simple closed *o* in German.

It is legitimate to argue that each nation shall be permitted to simplify a universal phonetic system to suit its own needs, and from this point of view there would be no objection *in practice* to Sir Harry Johnston's usage; but if he aspires to give us a universal alphabet, he cannot slur over international differences of this sort. The same criticism applies to his provision of only two "a" vowels (if we exclude the sound heard in "but"). Is our English "a" in "father" an adequate rendering of this sound in "Schwamm" or "madame"? Again, I do not find any sign provided for the sound of *ö* in "könig," or the *eu* sound in "precieuse."

The author commits himself to the use of new letters rather than diacritical marks, more especially for the indication of vowel sounds; but even then his sixteen vowel signs contain five with diacritical marks, one diphthong (*æ*), and two pairs of variant forms (*a, a*; *e, e*). I note as a grave defect that *e* (short open vowel) as in "met," and *ē* (long closed vowel) as in "grate" have only one character. No sign is provided for the long open sound, and the author writes "même" as if the vowel were identical with the *ē* mentioned above. Among minor peculiarities of transcriptions I observe "Abendz" (= "Abends"); I have never heard any pronunciation but "Abends."

Much more might be said, but it suffices to add that even those who cannot accept the author's system in its entirety will be grateful to him for throwing his weight into the scale of spelling reform. Criticisms such as I have offered on points of detail will be more welcome to him than indiscriminate praise.

N. W. T.

America, South : Ethnology.

Labrador.

El Paraguay Catolico. By J. Sanchez Labrador. 2 vols. Imprenta de Coni Hermanos, 684 Peru, Buenos Aires. 1910.

58

The manuscript of this work, forgotten for more than a hundred years, was obtained from the R. P. Gomez Rebeldes and published by the University of La Plata, in pursuance of a policy of diffusing knowledge of ancient South America. The author was a learned Jesuit born in Spain in 1717, who, after being Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the Academy of Nueva Cordoba (Argentina), devoted himself to missions among the Mbayá, compiled a grammar and dictionary of their language, and wrote eleven quarto manuscript volumes on Paraguay, with descriptions of the country, climate, natural history, botany, etc., illustrated by his own good and careful drawings. Of these volumes part has disappeared, and we have here chiefly the diary and topographical record of the missionary's journeys (not arranged in due sequence), but much valuable information is scattered through the pages about everything that came under his observation, especially as regards the native peoples. There is a long account of the Mbayá, and notes on his visits to the Chiquitos and Chaná. From 1760 to 1767 he was in charge of the village or Reducción of N. S. de Belen, which he had founded, on the east bank of the Paraguay, north of Asunción. He and the other missionary Jesuits were suddenly deported to Italy, and Sanchez Labrador died at Ravenna in 1799. He makes no comment on the strangely abrupt manner in which they were carried off, to the despair of their Indian flock.

The book begins with the account of a journey made by Sanchez Labrador, in 1766-7, to the Chiquitos mission station, Sagrado Corazon, north of Belen, on the west side of the Paraguay, accompanied by three Guaraní and two Mbayá men. Great energy and vitality were needed for his travel on horseback through a country of swamps, sun-scorched by day, enduring heavy storms at night, lying on the ground soaked to the skin whilst the myriad minute flies "well supplied the want of fire by " their burning stings," swimming rivers, and living on the shoots of palms and such game as his companions could secure. They made light of the obstacles to progress. Their horses were as intrepid as the riders, and went through mud-holes and into and out of rivers as if the whole land were a highway. Owing to the necessity of hunting, the daily journeys were short and there was time to take solar observations and to make notes, including the names of every halting-place and stream in Mbayá and Guaraní. Among the trees described is one called Nivadenigo (Vol. I, p. 29), with the method of extracting from the nuts a red dye much used by the Mbayá for body-painting. From another tree, the Notig-igo, black ink was made for painting when going to battle. "They say that if they were painted red " then their own blood would flow " (Vol. I, p. 308). There were also indigo and at least three trees which gave a yellow dye. Yellow was a favourite colour and the Mbayá succeeded in producing yellow feathers on green parrots (Vol. I, p. 215) by plucking all the feathers from parts of the birds' body, and rubbing the bare places sharply with a yellow dye made from the roots of the plant Logoguigo. The bird was left free until the feathers grew again, and usually they came yellow, but if any were green the process was repeated. Then the feathers continued yellow, no matter how often they were plucked.

The Mbayá were also known as Guaycurú and Eyiguayegui. Mbayá is the Guaraní word for mat (Vol. I, p. 268), and was applied to this people from their custom of constructing dwellings with mats. Guaycurú (also from the Guaraní) is a corruption of Guacurú-Ygua—those who drink the water of the Guacurú (Vol II, p. 59). In D'Anville's map, printed in 1733, he gives two rivers of this name. They called themselves Eyiguayegui—dwellers in the place of the Eyiguá palms.

This was on the west bank of the Paraguay. Needing more space, they moved to the eastern bank, and were persuaded by the missionaries to inhabit Belén. Previously nomad hunters, they learned there to cultivate mandioc (Vol. I, p. 163), though the ploughing had to be done by Christian Guaraní. Wild rice (Vol. I, p. 185) was used by the Payaguá and Guachicos, and to some extent by the Mbayá, but they did not know how to clean it. The wild cotton was spun and woven into fine materials by the women. There was also a kind of wild sugar-cane and the juice had medicinal properties. The Mbayá doctors employed none of the many medicinal plants. Their methods were singing, shouting, occasional bleeding, sucking parts of the patient's body, and when death was obviously near, pressing or punching his abdomen (Vol. II, p. 42). Sometimes they would boast of killing a man to make themselves more feared. Among simple remedies was the use of a rattlesnake's fang to cure headache, by pricking the sufferer's head and neck with it.

In the short notice of the Chiquitos (Vol. I, pp. 75-88), they are said to have cultivated in their orchards rare and exquisite fruits, but neither wheat nor vines would grow, so that bread and wine for the service of the church were sent regularly from Peru. The Chiquitos were so called by the Spaniards from the small doors of their huts. They were of good stature, well built, with pleasant faces, and grave, serious manners. Some details are given of their ten towns. Their principal diversion was a ball game in which there were 200 or more on each side; the ball was thrown to a great distance, although it might be hit only with the head. The side lost that failed to return the ball. For this game and for their dances they adorned themselves with well made feather ornaments. They also practised using arrows with protected points. Two competitors shot at each other, both moving their bodies with great agility to avoid the arrows. Against the Portuguese they had formerly used arrows touched with a poison so strong that death followed a wound almost instantaneously. They traded to Peru with coarse linen and wax, had churches with three aisles and of good architecture and excellent music. In 1766 there were nearly 34,000 souls.

The Mbayá, both men and women, differed little in appearance from Spaniards or from Italian peasants, especially those near Ravenna. The children were born white, but had a dark-coloured spot on the lower part of the back, which spread and gradually disappeared as the whole skin darkened. As the women were always fully covered, their skins remained pale, but the men went unclothed usually and became dark. They removed all the hair from their faces and bodies, although naturally bearded; even the eyebrows and eyelashes were pulled out. Before they could procure small mirrors they saw themselves in the water, and spent whole days in plucking out hairs or removing them with a shell (Vol. I, p. 246). The hair of the head was kept quite short and coloured red. The men were painted with black designs on a red ground. On certain days they added suns and stars in white by cutting out the pattern in leather, which was placed on the body and the white applied as in stencilling (Vol. I, p. 285). Women of the lower class tattooed their faces. This was a mark of inferiority; the cacicas and the wives of captains spared their faces but had their arms tattooed from shoulder to wrist. The pricking was done with a fish-bone and the black with ashes of the leaves of the Eabuigo palm or Notique ink. Girls were tattooed when from fourteen to sixteen years of age. "Whilst the female captives were collecting wood, bringing water and cutting palm-shoots, and the males were hunting or fishing, the lords sat quietly drawing lines over their bodies." In this way they forgot their hunger.

A Mbayá-Guaycurú in gala costume is described (Vol. I, p. 280). He wore anklets of glass beads with some metal bells. Below the knees was a fringe of small feathers. The waist-belt was a woven scarf covered with a handsome design of

coloured beads, except in front, where thin plaques of yellow metal added to the effect. Ten or twelve large metal bells were hung round the waist by the rich. From waist to throat the body was painted red, or red and black. Round the neck was a feather fringe, which covered the shoulders, and a quantity of tin beads, both long and round, much ornamented. In the ears were a number of rings made from coco-nuts (Vol. I, p. 160) or silver half-moons. Failing these there would be small tubes of tin or cane filled with red paint, the front ends stopped with a tin button. There were varied adornments of feathers for the head (Vol. I, pp. 213-15 and 247). A piece of bone or wood, sometimes covered with silver, hung from the lower lip, and there were bracelets and feathers on the arms. Women embroidered their mantles and added small pieces of mother of pearl.

The necessity of frequently moving camp to obtain food caused the Mbayá to use portable dwellings made of reed mats. A sufficient number of forked posts were planted in the ground in three rows, and the mats were tied together, raised with poles, and laid over to form the top of the roof. More were added, and from this roof, on each side, with another row of posts, there was an outer corridor of mats. To make the mats, the reeds were dried, then laid together, and fastened across with thread; when damp, they swelled sufficiently to keep out the rain. The houses, ten to twelve yards long and nearly as wide, were arranged in a semi-circle with a space in the centre for games. Horses were not allowed to enter this, and the stables were outside at the back of the houses. Cooking was done in the outer corridors, and all the arrangements were clean and orderly. The people slept on skins, with palm leaves or grass beneath, on the ground. Mats were placed over the skins for sitting, and they had a great aversion to sitting on the bare ground. Meals were served to the chiefs by their servants.

The Mbayá were capable mechanics; they made lance-heads of metal, fish-hooks from iron nails, and one man borrowed a fine Barcelona knife and produced an equally good copy in iron. By dint of much hammering they made the circular silver plates worn by the women, and other metal ornaments (Vol. I, p. 296). Skins were well prepared by stretching, drying, and rubbing hard with something rough, usually a stone, until they became soft and pliable, for use as cloaks when the cold south wind blew. Short coats were made of tiger skin for war, and were thought to communicate the animal's fierce courage to the wearer. As weapons they had arrows, lances, and small swords. The arrows were about two yards long, and had bone points not barbed, fastened to sticks of a hard wood carefully shaped. The upper half of the arrow was of cane, as thick as a forefinger. The bow was so strong that "only arms as robust as those of the Guaycurú could bend it." The arrows were carried in the left hand or stuck in the belt. The Mbayá women wove stuffs and ponchos, invented patterns for embroidery, and made pottery. All this was considered recreation. To show their capacity, Sanchez Labrador relates that a woman happened to come into a town near Asunción and to a house where the sisters of the priest were embroidering a beautiful vestment. Asked jokingly when she would do one for the church at Belén, she answered that it was not difficult, and taking the needle she continued the work perfectly, to the surprise of those present.

The second volume begins with an account of the solemn drinking ceremonies, the foot races (followed by terrible scarification of their bodies by the runners), games, and other customs. There was a great festival at the re-appearance of the Pleiades, for the beginning of the season of plenty; everything was cleaned, the reed huts were taken to pieces, and the mats shaken. Then came visitors from other settlements and great boxing matches took place between the young men. War was made to obtain captives (Vol. I, p. 311); children were taken by preference, even those of Spaniards, and some adult women were kept alive, the others and the men

being killed. The Mbayá did not marry their daughters to captives and their aristocracy married only amongst themselves. All the relatives of caciques and their descendants of both sexes formed a hereditary aristocracy, quite distinct from the servant class. A kind of life-honour was also conferred on a male infant chosen when a son was born to a cacique. On such an occasion there were ceremonial dances and drinking (Vol. II, pp. 14-19). Marriage was usually at the age of twenty-five to thirty, but could be terminated as soon as the husband tired of his wife. Infanticide was practised, so there was seldom more than one child in a family. Twins were killed.

In November, 1761 (Vol. II, p. 269), Sanchez Labrador accompanied a party of 400 Mbayá (men, women, and children) on a visit to a Chaná town on the west side of the Paraguay, about sixty leagues from Belén, between it and the Chiquitos country. He notes with admiration their method of travel. The men rode bare-back, guiding their horses with a rope tied round the jaw. The ladies had comfortable pack-saddles and carried ostrich feather parasols. The female servants and captives were laden with mats, pots, and all their other possessions. The main party went on each day to the appointed camp whilst the hunters ranged widely to provide game. When they came to the Paraguay, within half an hour all had crossed and were marching on the other side, although twenty minutes were occupied in swimming the wide stream. Children, pots, and most of the women were sent over in skins fastened up at the sides.

A crowd of about 2,000 Chaná received the visitors, painted black, with crowns of white ostrich feathers on their heads. In general appearance they resembled the Guaraní. They were gentle and of good disposition, the women clever housekeepers, skilful in weaving, and careful of their children. To the Mbayá they acted as vassals, and were as good tillers of the soil as the others were hunters. Their town was in a cleared space of about a quarter of a league in an extensive forest. It had wide streets and a centre square. The houses were from 16 to 20 yards long, dome-shaped without pillars (Vol. II, p. 275). The posts which formed the walls were arched and tied together without quite touching at the top, where a hole was left as chimney. The sides were filled in with straw, plaited in and out, from the ground to the top. Each captain lived with his brethren and family in one house, which had five doors. Near the doors were the cooking fires with three stones, between which the ornamental pots were set. On the opposite side were the beds, reed mats laid on the ground. There were about 6,000 souls in the town, and as infanticide was not practised the numbers increased. Mandioc, maize, beans, calabash, sweet potato, tobacco, and cotton were cultivated. The men cleared and dug the ground sitting, using a long-handled spade. Having sown their fields, they went away for the dry season to hunt and fish, returning when the crops were ready for harvest. Their seven towns were near enough for mutual protection.

The author complains of the number of names given in the *Historia del Chaco* to the Chaná and other native tribes. The name Enimagas, applied to some of the Lenguas, was only a rendering of the Spanish *enemigos* = enemies, the Lenguas being in constant feud with everyone. An amusing example, too long to quote, illustrating the pitfalls of those who employ interpreters, will be found in Vol. II, p. 115. He adds, "Speaking to the Indians through an interpreter is waste of time." There is a short note on the Guachitos, Vol. II, pp. 134-5; on Itatine burials, Vol. I, p. 62; Payaguá burials, Vol. II, p. 93; Mbayá funeral ceremonies and mourning, Vol. II, pp. 46-49. Stone hatchets are described Vol. I, p. 161.

According to Boggiani, by 1897 the Mbayá had disappeared from the Chaco and the modern state of Paraguay and were reduced to scarcely more than one hundred

persons of pure race living higher up the river. Taunay about the same time speaks of Guaycurú and Chané, on the Miranda river, in Matto Grosso (Brazil). The Caduveo appear to be the modern representatives of the Mbayá, and have recently been studied by A. Frič.

A. C. B.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES.

Anthropology and Research in India.

In a paper read recently before the Royal Society of Arts, the Hon. Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S.I., C.I.E., late Census Commissioner for India and Member of the Executive Council for Bihar and Orissa, expressed his cordial approval of the suggestion made last year by the Council of the Institute to the Secretary of State for India, that anthropology in the widest sense should be made a subject of study at the Central Research Institute, which it is hoped the Government of India may be in a position shortly to establish.

59

Meeting at Oxford.

The meeting at Oxford, on the 14th May 1914, to which the Oxford University Anthropological Society invited the Institute, was held in Christ Church, when Professor Gilbert Murray addressed a large gathering on the subject of "Folk Influence in Greek Literature." In moving a vote of cordial thanks to the distinguished lecturer for his brilliant and stimulating address, Dr. Marett, at the request of the President, who was unavoidably absent, conveyed to the meeting an expression of gratification with which the Institute had accepted the invitation to the meeting, and had noted the growth of the Oxford School of Anthropology in recent years. The representatives of the Institute present at the meeting included Mr. Henry Balfour, past President; Mr. Edge Partington, Chairman of the Executive Committee; the Honorary Secretary; and a considerable number of Fellows.

60

The School of Oriental Studies, London Institution.

At the Mansion House meeting held on May 6th, 1914, in support of the School for Oriental Studies (which will occupy the premises of the London Institution, Finsbury Circus), with the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair, Lord Curzon laid eloquent emphasis on the fact that the real key to success in the East was a knowledge of the national character of the peoples, and their point of view, their religious beliefs, their scruples, their prejudices perhaps, and expressed the hope that at the school would be set up machinery for teaching those whose careers took them abroad into the East among alien cultures, what was from some points of view even more important than languages, an acquaintance with the ideas, traditions, customs, and beliefs of Oriental peoples. Other speakers took the same line, and there can be but little doubt that the Social Anthropology of India will be included in the curriculum of the School.

61

Library of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

The re-arrangement of the Institute's library is beginning to take definite shape, and it is hoped that a catalogue will be issued in due course. A disinterested member of the Council has undertaken to check the entire stock of periodical publications with a view to discovering deficiencies in series, and communication will shortly be opened with publishing institutions with a view to filling gaps. It is hoped that Fellows of the Institute and others who possess back numbers of scientific journals dealing with or bearing upon Anthropology for which they have no use will communicate with the Secretary of the Institute.

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FIG. 1.—TREE FROM WHICH BARK HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR MAKING A CANOE.



FIG. 2.—TREE FROM WHICH BARK HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR MAKING A FOOD—OR WATER—CARRIER.

EVIDENCE OF BARK CANOES AND FOOD-CARRIERS ON THE RIVER MURRAY
SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Australia, South.

With Plate I-J.

Basedow.

Evidence of Bark-Canoes and Food-Carriers on the River Murray, South Australia. By Herbert Basedow, M.A., M.D.; Local Correspondent for Australia of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. **63**

The photographs reproduced in the accompanying plate (I-J) show "gum-trees" (*Eucalyptus rostrata*) bearing traces of the handicraft of extinct South Australian tribes. I came upon them on the banks of the River Murray, in the neighbourhood of Tailem Bend. All the original native inhabitants have practically vanished, but there is ample proof to bear out the writings of early explorers and the reports of old residents to the effect that the area was at one time thickly populated. Very numerous heaps of bleached shell-fragments, principally of the fresh-water mussel (*Unio species*), and burnt pieces of limestone, the remnants of native ovens, exist among the sandhills. The method of cooking was to lay the game upon stones and rock surfaces previously heated by an open fire. It was in the same district that during the Government Reclamation Works at Swanport, over a hundred skulls and more or less complete skeletons were recently unearthed in an excavation. These bones, which have found their way to the Adelaide Museum, are regarded as being those of natives reported by the late Rev. Taplin to have died during an epidemic of small-pox.

Illustration No. 1 shows how a long elongated oval patch of bark has been cut and detached from the tree-trunk for the purpose of constructing a canoe. Quite a number of trees, from which the bark had been removed in like manner, were observed in the immediate neighbourhood.

In Illustration No. 2 we have a very much smaller and more circular patch removed, the thickening of the bark along the edge giving a very fair idea as to the time that has elapsed since the cutting took place. Pieces of green bark of the shape indicated are still used in many parts of Australia in the manufacture of food and water carriers, known as "coolemans" or "pitchis." They are bent into the required shape and dried over a fire. They are then scraped longitudinally on the inside and outside surfaces with a stone-implement.

Both photographs betray the fact that the trees now stand on cultivated lands of a modern farm.

H. BASEDOW.

Africa, East: Religion.

Werner.

A Galla Ritual Prayer. By Miss A. Werner. **64**

The following prayer was dictated to me by a Galla, who specially desired me not to mention his name in connection with it. I subsequently obtained corrections and additions from other informants, but have not yet succeeded in getting a complete copy, as the invocation for the Mandoyu clan is still missing, in spite of all my efforts to get it supplied. The original informant did not give a complete translation into Swahili, only explaining in a general way that it was a prayer for peace and plenty. As far as I could make out it is recited at festivals, such as the Jara (though he did not mention this especially), by a man who stands with his hands held out before him, palms upward and somewhat hollowed, on a level with his chest. The rest of those present respond at intervals: *Toche!* (which he said was equivalent to "Amen!") *Kanye!* *Jelachisye!* *Davié!* (last vowel accented) *Jawesye!* *Galche!* *Magache!* I could not get at the meaning of these ejaculations (except that the last two mean "wealth" and "many" respectively), nor could I arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to whether they are used in a fixed order, except that from line 11 onwards (if I understand rightly) every line is followed by the response, *Toche!* The Galla who helped me to correct the first version explained most of the

lines (though, I fancy, in very paraphrastic fashion), but said that he did not know the meaning of all, some of the words being very old. He was induced to recite it into the phonograph, but the record is not very satisfactory, and does not tally with the written version, either because he became confused and forgot the order of the lines, or because he was reluctant to communicate it at all. My first informant, after communicating it quite spontaneously at Mambrui, grew nervous at his own village, saying the other men had been asking how I knew this, and begging me to say, if asked, that I had read it in a book of the Europeans, or heard it at Golbanti—anything, in short, except that he had told me!

- | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 1. Nagea ana kanu | - | - | (God), give me peace! |
| 2. <i>Uta Laficho</i> antolechu | - | - | Make (that) <i>Uta Laficho</i> (may have peace)! |
| 3. Waka laf anjelachisu | - | - | May God (Wak) love me and the land! |
| 4. Nam Wak sobet antolechu | - | - | Make (that) a man (<i>nam</i>) may pray to Wak! |
| 5. Mil laf itandabu | - | - | Let (my) leg stand on the land! |
| 6. Galet anjabesu | - | - | Let (my) side (ribs) be strong! |
| 7. <i>Karar Dulo</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to <i>Karar Dulo</i> . |
| 8. Gerars karan galchu | - | - | The song of great wealth (?). |
| 9. Soda <i>Kareyu Dul</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to his brother-in-law, <i>Kareyu Dul</i> . |
| 10. Karafulan magachu | - | - | [?] many! |
| 11. <i>Denich</i> gamo antolechu | - | - | Make the <i>Denu</i> [?]. |
| 12. Namwongame wamet antolechu | - | - | ? |
| 13. <i>Gardyed</i> kale antolechu | - | - | Make that the stomachs of the <i>Gardyed</i> , |
| 14. Kale lachu ankufsu | - | - | That their stomachs may be filled. |
| 15. Galech korm ambul antolechu | - | - | Make . . . ? |
| 16. Galech <i>Meta</i> fayó antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Galech Meta</i> . |
| 17. Wanfay wacomangowu | - | - | Make them to wear beautiful garments! |
| 18. Bitalani antolechu | - | - | Give peace in the north! |
| 19. Mida bita tan holfolchu | - | - | Save me both in the north and the south! |
| 20. <i>Ilani</i> karwoms antolechu | - | - | Make the <i>Ilani</i> numerous as the stars! |
| 21. <i>Sunkena</i> wordalea antolechu | - | - | Make the <i>Sunkena</i> . . . ? |
| 22. Dalsánama bir antesisu | - | - | Let people and cattle multiply! |
| 23. <i>Bujaji</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Bujaji</i> , |
| 24. Kachir anjaweswo | - | - | Let the backs of their heads (<i>kachir</i>) be hard! |
| 25. <i>Wayu</i> Cherēte antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Wayu Cherete</i> , |
| 26. Ak chirecha an magachu | - | - | Let them be numerous as the gravel! |
| 27. <i>Hajej</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Hajej</i> , |
| 28. Ak hajijia an magachu | - | - | May they be many as the <i>hajij</i> aloes! |
| 29. <i>Guji</i> mambas antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Guji</i> , |
| 30. Mambas sánama anhorsisu | - | - | May they have plenty of people and wealth! |
| 31. <i>Gámadu</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Gamadu</i> , |
| 32. Wamwongame wamet antolechu | - | - | . |
| 33. <i>Machitu</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Machitu</i> ! |
| 34. <i>Kodyega</i> diko antolechu | - | - | Give great peace to the <i>Kodyega</i> , |
| 35. Dik anbalisei | - | - | . |
| 36. <i>Itu</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to the <i>Itu</i> , |
| 37. Hríme aua itiechu | - | - | Let me increase and multiply! |
| 38. <i>Digalu</i> holagafa antolechu | - | - | Make the <i>Digalu</i> like a ram, |
| 39. Wongafa anosisu | - | - | Give me (plenty of) horned beasts! |
| 40. <i>Abole</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to <i>Abole</i> ! |
| 41. Abwom anbiesisu | - | - | (God) forgive me if I have wronged my people! |
| 42. Soda <i>Wamaji</i> antolechu | - | - | Give peace to (his) brother-in-law, <i>Wamaji</i> . |

Line 8.—*Gerars* is more especially the song of praise (Zulu, *isibongo*), which a man chants after performing any notable feat, such as killing an elephant.

Line 9.—There seems to be a special relationship between Karar (Iridid) and Kareyu (Barietuma). The ancestors of these two clans descended from Heaven immediately after Uta Laficho, and married each other's sisters; hence they are said to be brothers-in-law (*soda*).

Lines 13, 14.—My informant said that both *kale* and *lachu* are equivalent to the Swahili *tumbo*. The usual Galla word is *gara*.

Line 15.—I have been unable to make anything of this line. *Korm* is a bull, or other male animal (not used of human beings). *Galech*, as explained elsewhere* means "witness" (or possibly "sponsor"), and seems to refer to the special position occupied by the Gardyed and Meta clans.

Line 18.—*Bita* = north, also "left hand"; seems to show that the Galla entered this country from the west.

Line 20.—*Karwoms* is a word expressing the twinkling of the stars.

Line 21.—My informant could not, or would not, give the meaning of *wordalea*. *Wor* is "a village"; *dal* = "to bring forth."

Line 22.—Explained rather confusedly in Swahili as "Kama mtu amezaa ng'ombe na binadamu, naketi pamoja nao"—"as if a person had given birth to cattle and human beings and lived together with them!"

Line 26.—*Chirecha* = small pebbles or gravel, evidently a pun on the second name of the clan Cherete.

Line 27.—*Hajej* (or *hajij*) is, I believe, a species of *Sanswiera*, very abundant in the forests of Tanaland and the Seyyidie Province, and noted for its prolific and rapid growth. I do not think it is in any sense a totem of the clan (whose special *tabu* is the liver of any animal); but, as in the last case, the resemblance in the names is probably a mere accidental coincidence. I cannot learn that the Hajej have any special beliefs or observances connected with the plant.

Line 29.—*Mambas* is *sifa tu*, a mere laudatory epithet. I could not get its exact meaning.

Line 33.—*Machitu* (it is difficult to tell whether the *t* following the accented short *i* is doubled or not) was quite distinctly given as the name of the clan which I at first noted as Manjitu.

Line 37.—*Hrime* (*hrume* in the Rev. G. W. Howe's vocabulary) means "pregnancy"—so, according to my informant, does *itichu*. *Ana* = "I."

Line 38.—*Hola* = "sheep"; *gafa* = "horn"; "a horned sheep."

Line 41.—*Abwom*, says my informant, is "to beat a child without a cause"—to commit an injustice. He paraphrased the line in Swahili as, "Muungu anisamehe kama nimefanya makosa kwa watu wangu." *An* = "me"; *basa* = "forgive."

The Bedi, Bolazu, and Ababia clans, of whom I only heard Bedi, Bolazu, from the Wasanye, are not included in these lists. Perhaps they and the Mandoyo are recent subdivisions. The sub-clans of the Ilani, Hajej, and Karar are not mentioned in the chart, which probably dates back to the time before these clans were divided.

A. WERNER.

Africa, Central.

Stannus.

Nyasaland: Angoni Smelting Furnace. By S. N. Stannus, M.D.

At the present time, when iron is fairly easily obtained in Nyasaland from traders, smelting has almost become a lost industry among the natives. It may be, therefore, of some interest to put on record a smelting operation I witnessed some three years ago in Northern Angoniland.

* Journ. Afric. Soc., Jan. 1914, p. 140.

The type of furnace differs essentially from that which was used by the Anyanja and Yao, but I am unable under my present circumstances to state whether it should be associated with the Angoni of Zulu origin or with the Atumbuka, a division of the Batumbuka from further west, among whom they came

as a conquering race and among whom they settled and intermarried.

The furnace, *ngango*, is an upright one, about 10 feet in height, somewhat bottle-shaped and made of clay, supported by wooden poles let into the ground bound round the outside. At the base there are eight holes through which earthenware pipes having an internal diameter of 3 inches are inserted to create the draught (*nchelwa*). The furnace is built on a slight slope, which allows of a hole being made at the lower side from which the slag escapes; slag is called by the word used for fæces. A rough platform of logs is made up against the upper side for convenience of those filling the furnace. It is filled almost to the neck with charcoal (*makala*) made from the "Kamponi" tree; this is then ignited from the top and a mixture of charcoal and iron stone (*tari*) in equal proportions is added at intervals. The operation lasts for two



ANGONI SMELTING FURNACE.

days; an opening is then made at the base of the furnace and the iron, which has collected in a circular trough at the bottom, is extracted.

H. S. STANNUS.

New Zealand.

Maori Beliefs concerning the Human Organs of Generation.

By Elsdon Best.

Best.

66

One of the most singular beliefs of the Maori of New Zealand is that concerning the inherent power of the organs of generation in the *genus homo*. This belief is by no means clear to us, hence we can but give the few notes we have collected on the subject. So far as we can see into this curious belief, the general idea seems to be that the power of the female organ is destructive, and that of the male organ is preservative and protective in its nature. In perusing a collection of old time myths and beliefs obtained from the Awa folk of the Bay of Plenty district, we often encounter a singular expression applied to the female organ; it is termed the *whare o aitua*, which we can only render as "the abode of misfortune"; it is the emblem of trouble, if not of death itself. The following sentence occurs in an old cosmogonic myth: "The aperture of misfortune is below, with Papa (the 'Earth Mother')"; the realm (or origin) of life is above." Also, when Taue was seeking the female element, the Sky Parent said to him, "The female element is below."

An old man of many summers once said to the writer, "It was the *tawhito* " of Hine-nui-te-po that destroyed Maui." Now this word *tawhito*, in the

vernacular, means "old," but is applied in myths, &c., to the generative organs. Hine-nui-te-po is a queen of the underworld, whose care is the spirits of the dead, and destroyed Maui, the hero, as he was entering her body by way of the *tawhito* in order to gain eternal life for man.

Tane, who represents the male element, Tane the fertiliser, is sometimes said to have been the cause of the introduction of death into the world, apparently because of his incestuous act towards his daughter, who thereupon descended to the underworld, where she is known as Hine-nui-te-po.

The Maori ever recognised sex in nature, and his views concerning the male and female elements are highly interesting. The Tama-Tane, or male element, and Tama-Wahine, or female element, enter into all nature, apparently. Thus, the right hand is the male hand and the left the female. The ocean to the east of these islands is the female sea, that of the west the male sea. Both elements also enter into religious rites, hence the introduction of women into many ceremonies, the singular acts of the *ruahine*, who first crosses the threshold of a new house, and also lifts the *tapu* from a newly erected fortified place. The power of sex is also recognised when the services of the first-born female of a family of rank is employed to step over the body of a man who has lost his spiritual health and intellectual vigour by transgressing some law of *tapu*, which act will restore him and bring him back to normal conditions.

The way by which man is born into the world is termed the house of death, because, so soon as he enters the world from that organ, he is subject to trouble, misfortune, disease, and death. He resembles not the primal beings, the offspring of the Sky Parent and Earth Mother. Observe the Children of Light (the heavenly bodies) on the breast of Rangi (sky), who live for ever, and know not death—such was a remark made to us by a native. Another remarked, "The female organ is the destroyer of mankind." Now, compare the following given by a native of India, "The goddess Kali is the emblem of *sakti* (i.e., of the feminine principle, symbolising in this case destructive energy) and the image gives a vivid idea of the destruction and havoc inevitably to follow on the exercise of *sakti*. The *sakti* is inherent in all, but in a sleeping state while not in action, and the moment it is stirred up, it manifests itself in overwhelming force."

Tutaka, an old man of the Tuhoe tribe, once said to the writer, in response to certain queries: "The male organ is a destroyer of man in one sense, for, by its powers, the workers of magic are confounded. But it is really the saviour of man. The male organ is the *tangata matua* (? parent person). If two persons are engaged in a contention, and one thinks that the other has an intention of bewitching him, he at once withdraws to a secluded spot, takes hold of his penis, and draws back the foreskin. He then returns, holding his hand half closed as though still grasping his penis, expectorates into that hand, and makes a motion with it towards his adversary as though throwing something at him. That act will save him, and will destroy his opponent (or render his magic futile)."

In this account no mention is made of any charm uttered by the operator, such as are given by other informants. Tikitu, of the Bay of Plenty, said: "The performance termed *kai ure* is to avert magic. If you are endeavouring to bewitch me, I grasp my *ure*, draw the foreskin back, and repeat these words:—

"Kai ure nga atua,
Kai ure nga tapu,
Kai ure ou makutu.

"This act will deprive your magic of all power; if correctly performed, that magic has no effect, it becomes powerless before the powers of the *ure*."

A very old man of the Awa tribe, with whom the writer was on most intimate terms, sent the following message:—"Friend; I am sending you the means by which you may ward off the magic arts of your enemies. This charm that I send you is the *kai ure*; it is the salvation of man. Now, when you are aware that a person is trying to bewitch you, though he be before you, or at your very side, yet will this destroy his magic powers, and turn them against himself. Slip your hand down inside your clothing and grasp your penis, and repeat the charm quietly, so that none may hear it. Thus shall you retain life."

The same old fellow, when discoursing on the subject of the vitality and fertility of the white people, as opposed to the decadent Maori, remarked: "To my mind, the cause of the health and universal welfare of the white folks is found in the fact that, ever as they sleep, they keep within their rooms the *koutu mimi* (chamber), it is never absent; and assuredly that vessel (*i.e.*, the contents thereof) represents the *tawhito* (penis) that is the saviour of man, preserving his welfare."

These are samples of the mentality of the Maori, and the extraordinary channels of thought in which his mind has run for many centuries. Nor is it any light task to get at the meaning of these amazing beliefs, so different are our modes of thought.

It is of interest to note that, in Southern Asia, the urine of cows is, or was, used in purification rites, and that the holding of the penis, when wishing to impart power or solemnity to a verbal compact, as a promise or vow, is alluded to in the Bible.

In former times, when a native wished to dispel a frost that might injure his crops,* he took a firebrand to the *mianga*, or urinal, and there waved it to and fro.

More might be written on the subject of the native view of the generative principle in nature, and more information might be collected on such topics. The origin of such customs as ceremonial copulation, and the extraordinary *ngau pagpae* (hitting the beam of a latrine) ceremony, seem to be lost, but such items are worth recording for purposes of comparison.

ELSDON BEST.

Archæology.

Passmore.

Rarity of Large Flint Implements in Gloucestershire. By A. D.

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Passmore.

Canon Greenwall in his preliminary remarks on the district and tumuli of Nether Swell, in N. Gloucestershire,* discusses the remarkable absence of large flint implements, such as axes or adzes.

Thousands of arrowheads, flakes, and scrapers have been found, but only two halves of axes were to be seen amongst an enormous collection.

During a recent sojourn in that region of Gloucestershire, the writer, while finding flints, came to the following conclusions, which seem to explain the absence of the larger implements.

In the horizon under discussion there is no indigenous flint, and therefore the raw material for working into implements, or the finished implements themselves, would be imported, probably from Wiltshire. This means that flint at Nether Swell would be rare, and in troublous times, when commerce was temporarily interrupted, would become scarce and valuable. In Wiltshire, where flints are common, a man who broke a large axe could afford to throw away the pieces and pick up a

* *British Barrows*, p. 443.

fresh lump of flint to chip into a replacement; but in Gloucestershire, where flint is scarce, the reverse would be the case; the axe being broken and flints scarce, the pieces would be immediately used up for arrowheads, scrapers, and the like; hence the scarcity of large implements to-day.

Another fact in the same connection is that before a man started to make a large implement he would, by tapping and minute inspection, ascertain whether the piece of flint was devoid of flaws, fossils, or other impediments to free working. Having found such a mass of suitable material, the favoured flint would be chipped into the axe, and when broken, even when other flints were to hand, it would, on account of its flawless, free-working character, be preferred for working into smaller implements, hence one more reason why axes or large portions of axes are rare in N. Gloucestershire.

This last fact would seem to refute a theory lately propounded regarding fragments of polished axes on Windmill Hill, near Avebury, Wilts. Here for many years worked flints have been picked up by the thousand, amongst which is an appreciable quantity of flakes struck off polished axes, and large pieces which have one part of their surface ground and were obviously once parts of axes. To account for the apparent disproportionate quantity of ground fragments, it is stated that a successful invading race of bronze-using people went round after their conquest smashing up the flint arms of their victims.

Without going so far into the realms of imagination, the evidence seems to yield a much more simple explanation; in fact, the second conclusion of the previous argument fits the case. We here have free working material of known quality, used when broken in preference to new material of untried quality, hence the number of fragments or waste pieces remaining from the conversion of broken implements into smaller articles.

A modern parallel is as follows. In a workshop known to the writer, wood-workers in the repair of furniture use up broken articles for the repair of others, and one day an old table top came in which bore a peculiar yellow polish. This was immediately used for good work, because it was an exceedingly mellow, straight-grained, free-working piece of wood, and from time to time bits were cut off and worked up into parts of other articles, with the result that scores of little flakes and chips showing the peculiar yellow polish may be picked up in all corners of the workshop.

The objection that flint exposed to the weather is not so workable as that newly dug could easily be overcome, and will be understood by those who really know flint.

A. D. PASSMORE.

Papua.

Some Notes on the Nomenclature of Western Papua.

W. N. Beaver.

Beaver.

By

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Considerable difficulty has been experienced in identifying various points and places which have had names given them by travellers. European names are in many instances given, and of course no native can know these, while it becomes correspondingly difficult for persons travelling in the neighbourhood to ascertain the whereabouts of such places. A native name may not always be available, for many obvious reasons, but this should be rectified as soon as possible and at any rate when obtained the native name should be placed alongside the European one on the map. To quote the names of certain rivers in the west, there are the Bensbach and Morehead, the correct names of which are the Turas and Baiamkad respectively; the so-called Wassi-kussa and Mai-kussa are really the Baudu and Toji. As for the Fly, I cannot find any definite name for it, at any rate in the lower reaches, except

auwo oromo ("big river"), and the name Fly itself has passed into somewhat general use among the natives. Frequently a river has different native names at different points. For instance, the Gama has a different name some twenty miles up. Again, it is quite incorrect on maps to add a suffix such as *turi* to the native name of a river. *Turi* itself in Kiwai means creek or stream, and while it is quite correct to put on a chart "Pahoturi," it is not correct to write "Pahoturi River." It is simply a reduplication. The same error is seen in the case of the "Bina-turi River." Similarly the Kiwai word *muba* ("point") is added to the name of promontories as well as "point," for example "Augaramuba Point." This mistake is to be noted all over the map. One's native informants are quite correct in giving the name of a place or point in their own tongue, but there is no need for a European addition. In the Aird delta the word *bari* has been added to place names in a similar manner. The name Goaribari has been popularly applied to a whole district, though as a matter of fact Goari is the name of a village on the island named on the map "Goaribari Island," and *bari* simply means "point" and Goaribari actually refers to a small cape. The same is true of a neighbouring island, "Ibibu-bari."

In obtaining the names of villages the inquirer is very apt to set down either the name of the locality, or the district, or the tribe, or something absolutely different. There are two villages on the Fly River, Adagositia and Tagota, that I have not been able to identify at all. On almost their exact sites are two villages and tribes called respectively "Baramura" and "Weridai." Probably the two former were merely place names or the names of natural features. It is essential that the name of a tribe, the name of a village, and the name of a locality or site should be distinguished. For instance, the Sangara tribe, in the Northern Division, has or had about twenty villages, each of course with a different name. It would have been quite incorrect to call each of these villages by its separate name as a distinct tribe.

There are many other suffixes in various parts of the Western Division that are indiscriminately added to names. In Kiwai the word *rubi* means "people," yet one sees such examples as "Dabura-rubi Tribe" to which one could add indefinitely. The Kiwai word *darimu* ("house") is used in the same way, as, for example, at Ipidarimu, on the west bank of the Fly.

Other instances of reduplication I fancy are found in the suffixes *na* in the district between the Fly and the Bamu, and *mona* on the west bank of the Fly. In the former case one hears of tribes referred to as "Barimona Tribe" or "Adariona Tribe." To write "Barimona" or "Adariona" would be correct, and equally so Barimo Tribe or Adario Tribe. In the case of *mona* I know of Goiamona, Marsamona, and Diwaramona, all of which are used with the addition of "Tribe."

There are many minor instances of the use of wrong tribal names. For instance, the natives of Wabada Island are really the "Siba-rubi" but the name Wabada has passed now in general use with Europeans and to some extent with natives.

It is, however very misleading when an absolutely wrong name is used. On the Kiko River there is a village marked "Tumu." This has never been traced. Now *tumu* in Kiwai means "bush," and the word was evidently accepted in error as the name of the village. Other instances occur where the name of a tribe is given as "Oberi-rubi" ("bushmen") or "Tagara-rubi" ("old time people"). With regard to the name Kiko, it is marked on the map Kikori River, but I feel pretty confident that the *ri* is a suffix, just as the Mamba River in the north has *re* added or the word Kokoda has *da*. At any rate, practically throughout the whole course of the river it is spoken of by the natives as "Kiko."

W. N. BEAVER.

Africa, West.

Tremearne.

Marital Relations of the Hausas as shown in their Folk-lore. By
Major A. J. N. Tremearne, M.A., LL.M., Dip. Anth.

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No. 2.

wanni mutum maikishi ya tefi ya yi gidda a-daji duk
Certain man, feeler of jealousy, he went, he built house in forest both (he)
 da matansa ya che ba maineman matau-hi sfi anagerdamma
and wife his. He said (there was) not seducer of wife his. Now there was argument
 a-ga(r)ri sai sa(r)riki ya che kowa ya nema matansa ya ba
in city, and chief he said whoever he seduced wife his, he (chief) would give
 shi zambar derri keauta sai wanni sauraye ya che shi zaya chi
him thousand hundred (as) present. So certain youth he said he, he would seduce*
 mataushi shi ko shina ganni da idonshi† sai sa(r)riki
wife his he (husband) even (while) he was seeing with eyes his. Then chief
 ya che yaya zaka yi sai ya che a ni de na iya
he asked "How will you do (it)?" But he (youth) replied "Oh, me, as for, I can."
 sai ya nemi dan bokko ya sa(r)roko shi ya zuba da yayan chikki sai ya
So he procured fruit of baobab, he cleaned it; he threw out seeds inside, and he
 zubar kurdi dubu
poured in cowries thousand.

to kofan giddaushi maikishin shina da bokko da
Now, entrance of house his, feeler of jealousy, it was with (=had) baobab in
 yaya bokkon kuwa dogo ne na kofan gidda sai sauraye sai ya dauka
fruit, baobab too, high was, at entrance of compound. And youth then he took
 dan bokkon da ya zubar kurdi achikki sai ya je kofan giddau
fruit of baobab which he (had) put cowries inside, and he went door of house the.
 sai ya che salaam aleikum a-gusun kuka sai mai gidda da
Then he said "Greetings upon you at foot of baobab." And owner of house, when
 ya ji salamma sai ya fitta da kibiya achikkin serkiya
he had heard salutation, immediately he ran out with arrow on bow-string.
 sai da ya gan shi sai sauraye ya pa(s)sa dan kuka sai kurdi
And when he (youth) saw him, then youth he broke fruit of baobab, so cowries
 duba suka waatsi pal sai ya che mi ya kawo
thousand they fell out (in) heap. Then he (husband) said "What it has brought
 ka giddana en ji maikishi sai sauraye ya che a na
you house my?" Let me hear feeler of jealousy.‡ Then youth he said "Oh I
 zo zau wuche ne na ga dan kukanka ya fado
came I was about to pass (it) is (when) I saw fruit of baobab your it fell down.
 to ni ko da na dauka na pa(s)sa sai na ga yayansa duk kurdi
Well, I, now, when I had taken (it) I broke (it) and I saw seeds its all cowries
 ne shi ke nan sai na yi salamma don en gaya ma-ka sai
were. That is all, so I made salutation so that I might tell to you." Then
 ya che ma mata massa ki fitto ki kawo mi-ni tsanina
he (husband) said to wife "Quickly you come out you bring to me ladder my."
 sai ta zo da tsani sai ta sa a-kuka sai ya hau
So she came with ladder, and she set (it) against baobab, and he climbed.

* A hundred-thousand cowries, about 2l. 10s., but the value varies.

† i.e., even in the husband's presence.

‡ i.e., "so said the jealous husband." Even the Hausa listeners often become rather confused, and have to ask *en ja wa*, "Let me hear (know) who (is speaking)"

da ya hau bissa chan ba daman da ya sauko
When he had climbed up high, no means of (by) which he could descend
 sai da tsanin nan sai mata ta ture shi ya fadi tsanin nan sai
except by ladder the this, then wife she pushed it, it fell, ladder the this. Then
 ta kwanche zennenta ta shimfida a-ka(s)sa shi kuma sauraye ya
she pulled off body-cloths her, she spread on ground; he, also, youth, he
 kwunchè wandonshi sai ya hau ta sai maigidda yana bissa
pulled down trousers his, and he mounted her. Then owner of house, he was above,
 ya ga suna chi sai ya che a a a ptu ku tashix ptu
he saw they were copulating, so he said "No, no, no" (spit), you get up, (spit),
 ku tashi yana zuba ma-su yawo
you get up." He was expectorating on them spittle.

sai da suka gamma ta dauke zennenta ta daura shi
Now when they had finished, she took body-cloths her, she tied (them on), he
 kuma ya dauka wandonshi ya sa saanan da sauraye ya
also (youth) he took trousers his he put (them on): Then when youth he had
 teffi ya yi nesa sai ta dauke tsani ta sa ma mijjinta sai
gone, he had made distance, then she took ladder she placed for husband her, and
 ya sauko sai ya dauko kayanshi sai ya komo achikkin ga(r)ri ya
he descended. Then he took possessions his, and he returned into city, he
 che ba ya kara kishi ba
said not he would continue jealousy not.

sauraye ya samu aron mata ya samu kurdi wu(r)rin sa(r)riki
Youth he obtained loan of woman, he received cowries from chief
 kuma ya ji dadi
in addition. He felt sweet (happy).

No. 3.

wanni ke nan da matanshi suna gardamma ya che kowa ya
Certain is this and wife his, they were arguing. He said whoever he*
 nemeta da farraka ya sanni ita kuwa ta che ka(r)riya
sought her in adultery, he (husband) would know. She, however, she said "Lie
 ka ke yi ayi tuwo akai ma farraka har
you are telling, there can be made porridge, there can be taken (it) to adulterer, even
 ya bada tukuichin zenne kai ba ka sa(n)ni ba shi ke nan† sai ya
he can give payment of cloth, you not you will know not. But he
 che ka(r)riya ne sai ta che to
said "Lie (it) is." So she said "Very well."

ashe kuwa tana tadi da wanni farraka shi ba ya
Lo! now, she was intriguing with certain adulterer, he (husband) not he
 sa(n)ni ba shi ke nan sai ta che ma farrakan nan to jibi
knew not. And she said to adulterer the this, "Now day after to-morrow
 da almuru ka teffi ka hau makatta a-hainyan giddan iyayena sai
in evening you go you climb rope-noose‡ on road to house of parents my." And
 ya che to shi ke nan da jibi ya yi sai ta che
he said "Very well." So when day after to-morrow it came, then she said
 da mijjinta to uwana ba ta lafiya zan yi tuwo
to husband her "Now, mother my not she (is) in health, I shall make porridge

* This is about a certain man and his wife.

† *shi ke nan* = "it is that," or "that was all," "very well," &c. When followed by *sai* the whole may be translated by "but," "so," or "and." *Ke nan* or *ne* often correspond to *c'est que*.

‡ For climbing trees, it might be called "rope-ladder."

en je en gaisheta sai mijji ya che da keau* sai ya
that I may go that I may salute her. And husband he said "Good." So he
 yenke kaza biyu ya ba ta ta yi tuwo ta sa kaza achikki shi ke nan
killed fowl two, he gave her. She made porridge, she put fowl in.
 sai ta dauka tuwo shi ya rataya kworrinshi tana gabba shi kuma ya
So she took porridge, he, he slung on quiver his,† she was (going) before, he however he
 bi ta abaya
followed her behind.

to da suka zo wu(r)in makattan nan sai ta mika kwariya
Now, when they had come place of ladder the this, then she held calabash
 bissha sai ta che kai kwarakwatta ina ebison kaina sai
up, for she said "Oh, dear! lice they are biting head my."‡ And
 kworto ya dauke tuwo ya sa sakka zenne gu(d)da daya achikkin kwariya
adulterer he took porridge, he put exchange cloth unit one in calabash.
 shi ke nan da suka kara teffiya kaddan sai ta che sai mu
And when they had continued travelling little, then she said "Now let us
 koma gidda ga darre ya yi kuma sai ya che to mu
go back home, see night it has come, also." So he said "Very well, we will
 koma
go back."

da suka komo sai ya che to ki kawo tuwon nan
When they had returned, then he said "Well, you bring porridge the this
 mu chi kadda ya lalache sai ta che wanni tuwo tuwonda
we may eat (it) lest it spoil." But she said "Which porridge? Porridge that
 akachainye sai ya che wa ya chi sai ta
there has been eaten (it)?" Then he said "Who he has eaten (it)?" And she
 che opp ai ka san akachi tuwo har akabada
replied "Poof, surely you know there has been eaten porridge; even there has been given
 tukuichi zenne sai ya che yausha sai ta che opp ba tare
payment cloth." Then he said "When?" And she replied "Poof, not together
 mu ke da kai ahainya sai ya che tabbas ku mata ba maiyi
we were§ with you on road?" Then he said "Verily you women not doer (equal)
 ma-ku sai allah
to you except God."

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

REVIEWS.

Ethnology: Method.

Graebner.

Methode der Ethnologie. Von F. Graebner. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's
 Universitätsbuchhandlung. 1911.

70

It is in the nature of all sciences to grow more and more detailed, to become progressively careful and even meticulous in method. As their inquiries advance new problems arise, which must be handled by the application of processes unthought of, or even unnecessary, in the earlier stages. Departmental investigations multiply, and the student of necessity becomes more or less of a specialist, limiting his interests to a small portion of the whole area of the science to which he has devoted himself. In this way the general study can best be promoted; without it, indeed, the science would become stagnant—its usefulness would be at an end, its career would be finished.

* Short for *shina da keau* = "it is with goodness."

† i.e., he took his bow and arrows. The man follows so as to be able to protect his wife.

‡ Loads are often held up at arms length to rest the head.

§ A Hausa idiom, plural for singular. Means, "Did you not see?"

To this point, according to Dr. Graebner, had anthropology other than somatic—what the Germans distinguish as ethnology—arrived when Ratzel pointed out the existence of cultural groups and insisted on the necessity of correlating them. The method of inquiry expounded in the little book named above, the method now usually associated with Dr. Graebner's name, is intended to serve this purpose, and thereby ultimately to unveil, so far as that is possible, the history of civilisation. Psychological considerations are thrust aside. The history of humanity is not one great epic of evolution in which some peoples have progressed more rapidly than others. It is a number of small tales of the rise and spread and inter-action of cultures originating in different centres, from different causes, and thence diffused throughout adjacent areas, and, indeed, to the most remote and unexpected corners of the world. The older method of inquiry, to which Bastian had given something of a philosophic form by his theory of *Elementargedanken*, is useless. Humanity has no elementary ideas. The psychology of one people differs as much from that of another as the psychology of one individual from that of another. To trace cultural similarities to a common root in human nature is mysticism, which has nothing in common with science. All cultural phenomena—be they myths, beliefs, institutions, tools, dwellings, weapons, or whatever else they may be—can have arisen but once in some definite area or cultural complex, and must have spread thence, whatever distance in space they may have reached, whatever apparently unsurpassable barrier they may have had to cross, and however improbable the journey may seem *à priori*. Moreover, every cultural phenomenon is an integral part of a whole culture. It cannot be separated. Its existence at any given point of the earth's surface is evidence of the diffusion, though possibly in an attenuated form, of the whole culture in the direction in which it is found. Every people bears the marks of a series of cultural deposits. They have overflowed it, like the waves of a sea, coming now from one direction, now from another. The problem, therefore, is to investigate these deposits, and in each cultural group to determine their succession and the direction from which they have come. So only can the scientific knowledge of mankind make any real progress. To do this, we must eliminate all subjective interpretations of the phenomena, we must confine ourselves to a strictly objective consideration of the facts. Though when we are baffled for the moment we may have recourse to hypothesis, it must be recognised as a mere guess. It may help us by indicating the direction in which we may hopefully look for a solution of the question, but until that solution be actually found we must keep steadily in mind that the hypothesis is nothing more than a guess. This, and this only, is the true scientific method as applied to ethnology. For here statistics do not help us, and we cannot, as in some sciences, make experiments to verify our conjectures. The facts cannot be reproduced at our will. We must take them as they are, and by comparison and reasoning endeavour to ascertain their meaning. Among the more civilised peoples, indeed, we have records that will yield us a certain amount of information. But for all the more backward peoples and the more backward stages of civilised peoples the only means of discovering the succession of cultures is analysis of the existing complexes, inquiring into the coherence of individual phenomena—that is to say, whether they appertain to this or that element of a cultural complex—and their comparison and correlation with the phenomena of other cultural areas.

Now, it may at once be said that there is much that is attractive in ethnological method as thus conceived. It does at least seem to promise results more minute, more accurate, more definite, more certain than much that has been attained by the older method of comparison. Nor are its claims altogether without foundation. It has offered plausible, and perhaps fairly certain, solutions of many problems. This is because it brings into play the historical conception which ethnologists have been

prone to overlook. Having little more than the facts observed within the last few generations, they have too often forgotten that the phenomena with which they are dealing are but the latest links in a chain of causation stretching back for as long a period as that which has resulted in the evolution of the European culture of to-day. This does not mean that of necessity the chain of causation has as many links in a savage culture as in the culture among the distinguishing characteristics of which are motor-cars and telephones. The conservatism of the lower culture is proverbial, and can be proved over and over again. What it does mean is that a superficial resemblance of two customs or two artifacts is not enough for strict parallelism. We must be careful to inquire into the surroundings, and not the least into the psychological atmosphere, before we can decide whether we have a true parallel. What we call survivals may not be the result of the growth of one part of a given society at a greater rate than another part. They may be, as Dr. Graebner contends, the result of the inter-action of two or more distinct cultures. On this we can only form an opinion after careful examination of all the facts. And we may conceivably find that the meaning attached to such a survival is not merely different from that attached to what looks like a similar phenomenon in another community, but quite opposed to it. What is important to note is that when we have arrived at a judgement upon the facts, it is after all an opinion only. It may be reached after consideration of a larger number of data, or by a more judicial use of the evidence than by other inquirers; it is still no more than a conclusion of the reason.

Here we touch upon Dr. Graebner's most cherished illusion. He continually insists on the objectivity of his method. He claims it as a peculiar virtue, in opposition to the subjectivity of Bastian and the older school, which he looks at with eyes of scorn. Over and over again he comes back to this point. Yet it is a claim, with all respect to him, grossly exaggerated, if not quite unfounded. Having laid down his tests and enlarged upon their objectivity, for example, he goes on to say: "The best tool does not render service of itself, but needs correct application. Universal rules for this purpose can hardly be laid down. It is in great part a matter of tact, of nicety of feeling, and, above all, of self-criticism" (p. 125). Again: "What, therefore, is necessary first and foremost to the ethnologist is a wide, practical knowledge of the human mind, a comprehension of human nature in all its most delicate emotions. These endowments, which are not to be learned like the results of a science, but are inborn and must be developed by training, render possible first of all a many-sidedness of the understanding, an abstraction from the bonds of his own mental world, a grip of the frequently numerous possibilities, the consideration of which will prevent one-sided conclusions" (p. 169). He repeatedly dwells upon the necessity for tact, and describes this or that hypothesis as thinkable or unthinkable. And he seems all the while unconscious that this is pure subjectivity. Take two cases in which he comes to two opposite conclusions. On the Rio Negro, in South America, he finds a paddle which, in the shape of its handle and of its blade (typical curving, handle-piece, position of its greatest breadth, and so forth), exactly resembles Indonesian and Melanesian forms. A theory of independent origin must, he says, hark back to some mystical predisposition of mind affected by similar natural or cultural environment; but this is anything but science (p. 145). In other words, the independent origin of this isolated South American form of paddle is unthinkable to him: it contravenes his dogma of the impossibility of independent origins. He forgets his repudiation on a previous page of Professor von Luschan's suggestion of a genetic connection between the head-rests of New Guinea and the Ionic capital (p. 118). The forms coincide here in a manner that must strike everyone, but the purpose is different. Therefore, for Dr. Graebner,

genetic connection is as unthinkable as the independent origin of the paddle on the Rio Negro. What are these but purely subjective judgments?

Whatever truth, indeed, there is in Dr. Graebner's method and theory, it is as purely subjective as that of his opponents. If the independent origin of two cultural phenomena be unthinkable, convergence of phenomena arising out of different cultural and natural environments is almost equally unthinkable. Accordingly, if he does not absolutely repudiate it, he puts it aside as incapable of proof, or, if proved in some particular case, quite unimportant. But cultural phenomena do not issue from nothing. They grow out of the common soil of human nature, in response to human needs or aspirations, physical, economic, mental, or emotional. Without this basis they would be inexplicable. Human needs and aspirations are not peculiar to one tribe or one race. *A priori*, therefore, there is no reason why the same invention should not be made more than once. The inquirer who starts from the dogma that the same things, whether beliefs, tales, customs, institutions, or artifacts are not invented twice is no more likely to arrive at the truth than one who starts determined to attribute to every separate cultural phenomena a disparate and independent origin. Neither of these opinions can be enforced; in every case it is a question of probabilities after weighing the evidence without prepossession.

There are dozens of examples of ideas and practices which are to all intents and purposes universal, such as (to name no more) the uncleanness of a woman at certain seasons, the life after death, the practice of sympathetic magic by obtaining a portion of something that has once formed part of a man's body, clothing, or food, and performing certain rites upon it. Will Dr. Graebner assert that they must have come from a single centre, that they must have been evolved once for all in a single social atmosphere? If not, where will he draw the theoretical line? Apparently he would venture on this assertion, for he insists that no available criterion has yet been found to establish the repeated independent origin of homogeneous cultural phenomena. Where his tests fail, he counsels suspension of judgement and a clear recognition that any other conclusion than that of cultural connection is purely hypothetic, with the evident implication that it is of no value, practical or theoretical.

With him the tests of form and quantity are conclusive, and he can only admit as a bare possibility, and for the sake of argument, that they can fail. He throws the burden upon objectors. "What is to be expected from a sound criticism," he says, "is not general negative theoretical objections, but positive proof that the tests are not universally applicable, that is to say, that results which, according to the presumption of the tests, are only brought about by cultural relationship, may have arisen and *have in fact arisen* in another way" (p. 123). But this proof is precisely what he puts out of court to start with. And he quotes in a note from Soltau a remark concerning certain parallels between European and American myths. Soltau says: "Only a fool can believe that here a relationship exists with the Greek myths of Styx and Cerberus"; to which Dr. Graebner replies: "To be sure nobody but a fool may 'believe'; but it approaches to proof." This is not a fair method of argument. The burden of proof lies on him who makes the assertion. When Dr. Graebner in a given case asserts that, to take an illustration already mentioned, the paddles of Rio Negro are genetically connected with those of Indonesia, it lies upon him to *prove* it. It is not enough to apply his tests of form and quantity. They prove no more than a striking similarity; they do not prove genetic connection. To show that such a result has in fact arisen in another way may be the most conclusive reply to the inference of genetic relationship; but it is a reply by no means incumbent upon the opponent. A negative theoretical objection, based, let us say, on distance, or on general diversity of culture, or on the limited number of possible variations of form, may be quite sufficient, in the

absence of more cogent reasons in favour of genetic relationship than striking similarity.

If, therefore, we welcome Dr. Graebner's method of investigation, it is rather because it is in harmony with the tendency of every science to grow more and more minute in its investigations, more exacting in its demands for proof. With much of the criticism he applies to "the older school" everybody must agree. The fate of all pioneers is to be in time superseded. There would be no progress if it were otherwise. On the other hand, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that much of the reasoning with which the distinguished author supports his claims is purely subjective, not to say prejudiced by his initial repudiation of the psychic unity of mankind. It may be true that the *psyche* of different human families differs as much as their *physis*. But after all there is an underlying basis which Dr. Graebner ignores, though in his final paragraphs he is forced to admit it, in graciously according to psychology the rank of an auxiliary to the true science of ethnology. If there were no such underlying basis, even his own conclusions would be without support. It is the psychic unity of mankind that renders the diffusion of culture possible.

Considerations of space prevent the detailed examination of Dr. Graebner's method as expounded in the book before us. That has been done with effect by others, notably by Dr. Lowie and Dr. Goldenweiser in the *Journal of American Folklore*. It took its rise naturally among students interested chiefly in the material products of civilisation. It is in tracing the provenience of these that its most important successes have hitherto been won; though many of the results claimed are still contested even by anthropologists, who are, in general, favourably inclined to it. Whether it can be applied equally well to ideas and institutions we shall be better able to judge when Dr. Graebner's promised work on Australia is forthcoming.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

Africa, West.

Thomas.

Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria. By Northcote W. Thomas, M.A., F.R.A.I.,
etc., Government Anthropologist. London: Harrison and Sons, 1913. **71**

This work deals with a small section of the Ibo people, one of the most important and interesting races of Southern Nigeria, and reputed to number over 3,000,000. Of the three slender volumes, the first deals with the law and customs of the Ibo of the Awka neighbourhood. The illustrations are excellent, and many facts have been got together, which, however, would have been more valuable from an ethnologist's point of view had the author given some indication as to the amount of corroborative evidence obtained for each. The second volume consists of an English-Ibo and Ibo-English Dictionary, and the third contains proverbs, vocabularies, and grammar, with some interlined stories of considerable value to the linguist.

It is to be feared that the usefulness of the dictionary and vocabularies will be greatly lessened for the ordinary student, to say nothing of the hard-worked official on the spot, by the complicated system of transliteration followed. About fifty forms of letters are used, as well as four tones and two accents. As pointed out by Sir Harry Johnston, it is improbable that the dots, dashes, and angles beneath the letters will ever come into practical use for ordinary writing.

Under the circumstances of the great variety of pronunciation and dialects used even in the few towns examined—as witnessed by the author's statements, "Each town has its own dialectical peculiarities; at Awka, for example, the word 'for evening' is *ainyase*; at Nibo, a mile away, it is *anase*. Even within the

"limits of a single town great variations can be found; at Nibo I noted the following variations of the word *afō*, ("stomach"): *ahq, awq, awhq, avq, avo*"; and again, "The pronunciation varies considerably even in the same town"—it seems a pity that so much time should have been spent in getting the exact pronunciation of a few men, instead of adopting a wider system. In the words of Sir Harry Johnston, "It would be absurd to expect of any phonetic system that it should give the exact pronunciation of a clique or a tribe either in England or Africa" (*Phonetic Spelling*, p. 8). Possibly had this latter excellent monograph appeared a little earlier, Mr. Northcote Thomas would have adopted this system, at least in part.

P. AMAURY TALBOT.

Folk-lore.

Andrews.

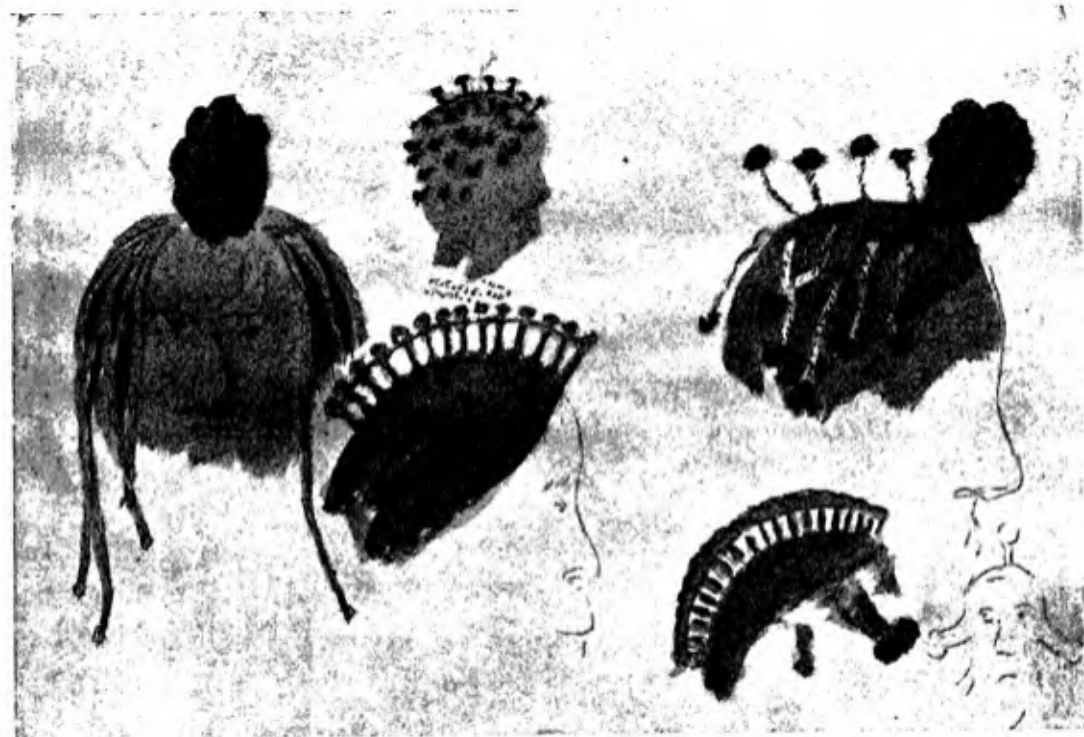
Ulster Folk-lore. By Elizabeth Andrews, F.R.A.I. London, 1913.

72

In this volume Mrs. Andrews has brought together and revised several essays on Ulster folk-lore and archæology, which have either appeared in the pages of the *Antiquary* or have been read before the Belfast Naturalists' Field Club, and their appearance in this convenient form will be welcomed by anthropologists. The greater part of the work is devoted to the souterrains of Ulster, especially in the Counties Down, Antrim, Derry, and Donegal, and to the folk-lore connected with them and with the mounds and raths which exist in great numbers in the same country. With regard specially to the souterrains, this work may be read in connection with Mrs. Hobson's paper in the *Journal of the Institute*, entitled "Some Ulster Souterrains" (*Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.*, 1909, Jan. to June). The subject of the relation between the beliefs in fairies and small-sized races, and possible late survivals of prehistoric races, has been already dealt with by Mr. D. MacRitchie in various publications, and in Dr. C. A. Windle's edition of Tyson's *Essay Concerning the Pygmies of the Ancients*, and Dr. Kollmann has found a neolithic necropolis of pygmies near Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, where similar beliefs as to small people are prevalent. These little fairies, or the short races known as "Pechts" and "small Danes," are, in Ireland, especially associated with the souterrains, which there is good reason to believe were inhabited not only in prehistoric but in more recent times. Mrs. Andrews argues that there is a probability that some of these pygmies survived into Christian times, and that the souterrains and hill-raths were their places of refuge. There is certainly something to be said in favour of this theory, but the absence of actual remains of pygmy races in the British Isles is a negative argument against it. Nevertheless, the Swiss discoveries show that such races did exist in Western Europe, and time may bring to light similar remains in our own country. The evidence from tradition and from the existing souterrains is carefully compiled and set forth by Mrs. Andrews. A good deal of miscellaneous folk-lore, especially from Donegal, is also brought together here. The perched blocks near Glenties, said to have been used as missiles in the war of the giants, that is, between Finn MacCumhal and Goll MacMorna, may be paralleled elsewhere. Mrs. Andrews alludes to Rob Roy's putting-stone, mentioned by J. F. Campbell in his *Tales of the West Highlands*, and I was myself as a boy very familiar with the boulder on the hill above Rostrevor known as "Cloughmore," supposed to have been thrown at Finn by the giant on the Carlingford side of the lough. The giant was killed by Finn's stone, and his profile can still be traced in the outline of the Carlingford Mountains as seen from the Rostrevor Strand.

There are many other interesting points in Mrs. Andrews's work, which is a valuable contribution to Irish folk-lore and archæology.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES.



MANGANJA HEAD-DRESSES.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, Central.

With Plate K.

Marett.

Manganja Head-dresses. By R. R. Marett, M.A., D.Sc.

73

Sir John Kirk, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., who, as Dr. Kirk, took part in Dr. Livingstone's expedition which resulted in the discovery of Lake Nyassa, has allowed me to publish the accompanying rough sketches, made at the time, under conditions that did not favour "art for the sake of art," of Manganja head-dresses. The explorers were engaged on their first voyage up the Shire, which, as far as they could discover, had never before been ascended by Europeans.* Hence we have here an opportunity of studying native fashions in an entirely unadulterated form. One set of sketches is marked, "80 miles up the Shire—Jan. 1859"; and the other (which occupies the lower portion in the reproduction), "Jan. 9, 1859—River Shire at Cataract," namely, the Mamvira (or Mamvera) Cataract, the first or lowest of the Murchison cataracts, which for the time being checked the progress of the little steamer, the "Ma Robert."

R. R. MARETT.

Papua.

Beaver.

Some Notes on the Eating of Human Flesh in the Western Division of Papua. By W. N. Beaver.

74

Under the Western Division of Papua I include all that area lying between the Anglo-Dutch boundary and the western end of the Purari Delta, an area which embraces very many distinct tribes of varying types.

Speaking in general of cannibalism, I am under the impression that the majority of authorities regard the eating of human flesh as an act of ceremony or ritual, but a long experience of almost every district of British Papua makes me incline to the view that while ritual or ceremonial does in many instances form the prime reason for cannibalism, in by far the greater number of cases human flesh is eaten because it is a food and is liked. I do not wish to imply, even in the case of frankly cannibal tribes, that a diet of this sort was an everyday occurrence; such a statement would be obviously wrong.

For a long time it was maintained that cannibalism did not exist in the west, but I think that view has long since been abandoned, at any rate there is ample proof that the practice did and does still exist.

I have no actual knowledge that cannibalism exists among the tribes of the extreme west of the division, although Beardmore was told by the Mawatta people that the tribes on the Baxter River (Maikussa) ate men. Chalmers states, on the other hand, that the Buji people were not cannibals. In the inland district known as Dudi, a case occurred at the end of last year where a man was killed by sorcerers and buried by his relatives. The same sorcerers subsequently came back to the grave, exhumed the body, and ate at any rate a considerable portion of it. In this instance the body was, I think, eaten for a specific purpose, not as a food. I am told that the exhumation and eating of corpses was not uncommon in this inland district. It should be noted that there is no lack of either animal or vegetable food. I have also been informed that human flesh was eaten in the ordinary way as well.

Even at a village like Parama, at the mouth of the Fly, a native of the tribe told me that in his grandfather's time men were eaten. I am inclined to think that among the Kiwai-speaking tribes the same practice was not unknown. On Kiwai Island when a head was brought home pieces of the muscle behind the ear mixed with

* D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries* (London, 1865, p. 75).

sago were given to the lads to eat to "make strong." Bevan in *Toil, Travel, and Discovery in British New Guinea*, refers to the Kiwai tribes as eaters of flesh.

Last year at a village called Iwi, on the eastern bank of the Fly, a man belonging to a neighbouring village was killed and eaten.

In the Bamu River district cannibalism was until recently more or less common. Mr. Jiear, lately resident magistrate of the Western Division, in one of his reports notes seeing at Sisime human joints, and similar sights have been recorded by other observers, including myself, in various villages. The less civilised tribes are quite frank about the subject. Man-eating, I think, prevails through the Gama and Turama River districts. In the Aird Delta all the village are openly cannibal. It is noted that the bush villages on the lower and middle Kiko River usually provide the necessary victims for the Delta people, and the latter in return state that the "bushmen" eat them.

In 1911 I travelled up the Kiko for about seventy miles, and thence inland due north and west for a considerable distance. Among the many natives met, I can only say that I have no evidence at all to enable me to make a definite statement one way or the other.

As far as the Paia and Urama peoples are concerned, lying between the Aird and Purari Deltas, I believe them to be man-eaters.

In regard to methods of cooking, all food in the west is roasted, for there is no pottery. In the Iwi case noted above, the body was cut up and mixed with sago. At Sisime (in the Bamu River) the joints were roasted, and the same practice prevails elsewhere in the district of the Bamu River. The flesh may also be mixed with sago. The victim is always killed first before roasting, and there is no particular care taken as to the cutting up except that in the Bamu River the arms and legs are cut off. These portions, especially the hands and calves, are esteemed as food, as also are the breasts of women. In the Kumusi River region (Northern Division) I am informed that it was frequently the practice among several tribes, the Dobodura among others, to roast their victims alive, principally with the idea that the meat tasted better when treated in this manner.

From the Bamu to the Purari the whole body may be eaten, but in the case of a male the testes are thrown away. At any rate this is the case among the Torobina, Anaidai, and Bina tribes in the Bamu. On the other hand, at Kondua, on the Anglo-Dutch boundary, whether the tribe is cannibal or not, the testes are cut from dead enemies and used as ornaments or charms.

From the western bank of the Fly eastwards it seems that in the case of a male the penis, and in the case of a female the vulva, were always cut out. These portions were used for various purposes. The penis is bitten into immediately after being cut off, especially by a young warrior. This is for the purpose of "making strong." Small pieces are eaten with the same object. To use almost the exact words of one informant "a man must eat a little before fighting, and it is very sweet." Very often the part is dried and used as a battle charm and in the ceremony before fighting, in which case a little is eaten. The female privates are used in a similar manner to the male.

As far as I know there is no restriction on the eating of human flesh in the west, that is to say, anyone may eat it. On the other hand, among the Koko of the Yodda Valley (Northern Division) a man may not partake of the person he has himself killed. Much the same practice occurs at Baimura, the extreme eastern limit of the Western Division; in an actual case before the courts in 1909 the following statement was made: ". . . It is not our custom to eat a person "whom you have killed. If, after killing a man, you sit on a cocoanut with a "cocoanut under each heel and get your daughter to boil the man's heart, you may

"drink the water . . . and may eat a little of the heart, but you must be sitting on the cocoanuts all the while." In this instance the eating of human flesh by the village may be considered as being of a ceremonial nature, for when a large new canoe is launched, a man, a cassowary and a pig must be killed.

Such practices as the eating of portions of the penis or the muscle behind the ear are forms of almost entirely ritual cannibalism, but in the main, apart from such cases, cannibalism seems to me to be carried on for dietary purposes.

I have heard it stated that snake-eaters are always cannibals. I do not know if it is a fact, but it certainly is a coincidence that the majority of snake-eating tribes in Papua are also cannibal. For instance, the so-called Kukukuku in the Gulf Division are both, as also are many of the Northern and North-eastern tribes. It is noteworthy that a new movement called *baigona* has within the last couple of years started northward from about Cape Nelson; in this cult the killing of snakes is forbidden.

I have only noted here the existence of cannibalism in the Western Division. The eating of human flesh of course is known in many other districts of Papua.

W. N. BEAVER.

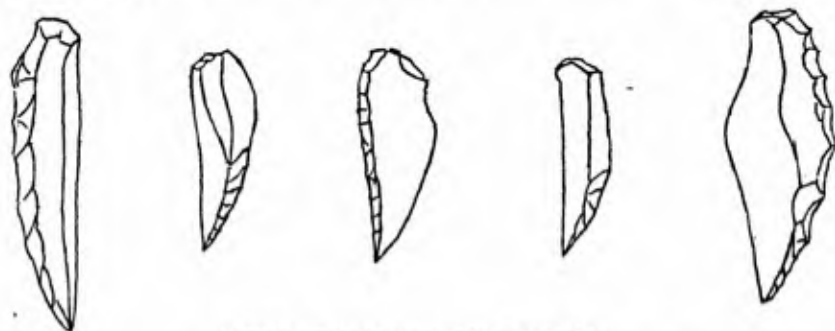
Archæology: Australia.

Johnson.

Pygmy Implements from Australia. By J. P. Johnson.

75

I can sympathise with Mr. Lewis Abbott in his surprise (expressed in his paper on "Pygmy Implements from Cape Colony" in the September number) at learning that pygmy implements similar to those of South Africa occur in Australia.



PYGMY IMPLEMENTS FROM AUSTRALIA.

I experienced a similar surprise on recently seeing examples from Western Australia in the Perth Museum, and others from Eastern Australia in the Sydney Museum.

It does not seem to be realised by writers on this subject that the South African pygmies, with the exception of the crescent type, are merely diminutive forms and varieties of what the French archæologists term the Audi, Chatelperron, and Gravette *pointes* or *couteaux*. These are characteristic of the Aurignaco-Magdalenien assemblages of North-western Europe where the crescent is absent, and are prominent in the Capsian assemblage of Sicily where the crescent is present.

I am now able to announce that this is also the case with the Australian pygmies. They are all varieties of the Audi, Chatelperron, and Gravette *pointes*, the crescent being absent. The accompanying drawing of specimens collected by Mr. Whitelegge, of Sydney, and now in my possession, will demonstrate this. These, it should be noted, are of more than average size. In Australia, however, they do not appear to be associated with "scrapers" as in Europe and South Africa.

J. P. JOHNSON.

Africa, West.

Tremearne.

Marital Relations of the Hausas as shown in their Folk-lore. By **76**
Major A. J. N. Tremearne, M.A., LL.M., Dip. Anth.

No. 4.

wanni da matanshi yana da kishi dayawa en
Certain (man) and wife his. He was with (had) jealousy in plenty, whenever
 zata fisari yana tsaya akan ta en zata
she would (make) water he was standing above (beside) her, whenever she would
 kashi yana tsaya akan ta sai ta che mi-shi wata rana wanni
excrete he was standing beside her. Now she said to him one day "Certain (man)
 zaya chi ni kai kana kai na ya che ka(r)riya ne
he will have me, (even while) you you are beside me." He said "Lie (it) is."
 sai ta che ai ga mu tare
*But she said "Verily see us together."**

shi ke nan sai ta che ma kwortonta shi zo shi shigga
Well, now, she said to adulterer her he (must) come, he get amongst
 kaikai shi kwanta ringinni shi rufe jikkinshi duka sai bura awoje
chaff, he lie on back, he cover body his whole (leaving) only penis outside.
 sai ya che to en ji kworto sai ya zo ya rufe
And he said "Very well," let me hear (so said) adulterer. So he came, he covered
 jikkinshi duka da kaikai duk sai ya ber bura awoje
body his whole with chaff all, only he left penis outside.

sai ta che ma mijji zani fisari sai ya che to
Then she said to husband "I am about (to make) water," and he said "Very well,
 tashi mu je to shi kuma rana ya fadi almuru ba ya yi ba
get up, let us go." Now he also, sun it had set, late evening not it made not.†
 shi ke nan da zuwanta ta ga bura awoje sai ta tsuguna abissa mijji
and on arrival her, she saw penis outside, so she squatted on top. Husband
 yana chewa yi fisari ki tashi ita kuwa tana chewa ma kworto
he was saying "Make water, you get up." She, however, she was saying to adulterer
 kai ma yi ka kare manna sai mijji ya che da wa ki
"You, now, do (it) you finish please." Then husband he asked "With whom you
 ke yi maganna sai ta che wa ka ganni sai ya che
are making conversation?" But she replied "Whom you do see?" Then he said
 yi fisari ki tashi ita kuwa sai ta che ma kworto yi ka
"Make water, you get up." She, however, only she said to adulterer "Do (it) you
 kare manna shi ke nan sai mijji ya che ko da wanni
finish, please." And husband he said "Perhaps (is it) with certain
 aljan ki ke yi maganna da shi
demon you are making conversation with him?"

da kworto ya kare sai ta tashi tsaye sai kworto ya yi
When adulterer he had finished, then she arose standing, and adulterer he made
 bup dagga chikkin kaikai sai mijji ya che a a a kin
"boop" from under chaff. Then husband he said "Oh! Oh! Oh! you have
 zambacheni sai ta che ai na gaya ma-ka to tun dagga
betrayed me." But she said "Of course, I said (so) to you." Well, since after
 nan ya che shi ba zaya kara kishi ba
that he (husband) said he not he would continue jealousy not.

* i.e., "We shall see."

† i.e., this was against him, the sun had set, etc. About 7.0 p.m.

No. 5.

wanni maharbi ke nan ya teffi daji ya ber mataushi a-gidda sai
Certain hunter is this. He went forest, he left wife his at home. Now
 wanni kworto ya zo da rana ta che shiggo mauna ai maigidda
certain adulterer he came by day, she said "Come in, please, truly owner of house
ba shi nan ba ko ya dawo yanzu kuma da ya shiggo ta
not he here, not either he will return now either." When he had entered, she
nuna ma-sa wota tukuniya ta che shigga da ya shigga
pointed out to him certain pot, she said "Get inside." When he had got inside,
ke nan wanni kworto ya zo ta che marhaba sai suka hangye
another adulterer he came, she said "Welcome." Then they espied
mijjinta yana zuwa
husband her he was coming.

da mijji ya zo shi kworto nabiyu ya che sanu da zuwa
When husband he came, he adulterer second he said "Hail to (you) coming,
anaiko ni ne en dauka tukuniya sai ta miko
there was sent me (it) is (so that) I might take pot." And she indicated
mi-shi tukuniyan da kworto na-fari ke chikki sai ya dauka
to him pot the which adulterer first was inside, and he carried (it) away.

yana teffiya sai ya che kai ashe yau na yi
He was going along when he said "Dear me, verily to-day I made (= was in)
azzikki sni nachikkin tukuniya ya che kai ne ka yi azzikki
luck." Then (one) inside of the pot he said "You (it) was you were in luck
ko ni sai ya che wanene ya ke tama mi-ni maganna sai ya
or I?" Then he (other) said "Who he is joining to me words?" And he
che ko eblisi na daji ne
thought perhaps devil of forest (it) was.

da ya kara teffiya sai ya che kai ashe yau na
When he had continued travelling, then he said "Dear me, verily to-day I
yi azzikki sai nachikkin tukuniya ya che kai ne ka yi
was in luck." And (one) inside of the pot he said "You (it) was you were in
azzikki ko ni sai ya dauka tukuniya ya yer ya pa(s)sa
luck or I?" Then he (other) took pot, he threw (it down), he broke (it),
sai mutum ya fitta ya dirri sai ya che a ka zambacheni
and man he emerged, he jumped up. Then he said "Ah, you deceived me,"
en ji na-biyu da na sa(n)ni kai ne achikki da ban dauka
(so said) second, "Had I known you were inside, then not I have carried (it)
ba sai ya che barkarmu da azzikki duka
not." Then he said "Fortune our and luck both."

No. 6.

wota mache da mijjinta talauche ya damesu ba su da
Certain woman and husband her. Poverty it crushed them, not they were with
komi sai ta che zan yi ma-ka dubaran da zaka samu kurdi
anything. So she said "I will make to you plan by which you will obtain money."
sai ta che ina farraka da wanni maikurdi shi kuma maikurdi
And she said "I am intriguing with certain owner of money, he, now, owner of money,
yana da yaya biyu ta che da sasafe na nikka ma-ka
he is with children two." She continued "In early morning I will grind for you
gari ka che zaka teffi en ka yi nesa ka tsaya ka
flour, you say you about to go away, when you have made distance, you stop, you

koma dagga baya en ya zo farrakan nan zan che ya shigga
return from behind. When he comes adulterer the this, I will say he must get inside
 rumbu kai kuma da zuwanka ka che zaka sa wuta a-rumbun
granary. You now, on arrival your, you say you will put fire to granary the
 nan ka samu toka ka seyer ni kuma zan
this (that) you (may) obtain ashes (that) you (may) sell them. I however, I will*
 teffi zuu gaya ma yayanshi ubansu na chikki su zo su seye
go I will say to children his father their (is) inside, let them come they buy
 rumbu sai ya che to
granary." So he said "Very good."

da safe ya che zashi teffiya da ya teffi sai kworton
In morning, he said he about to journey. When he had gone then adulterer
 ya zo sai mijji ya koma dagga baya da ya zo sai ta che
he came. But husband he returned from behind. When he had come then she said
 da kworton shigga rumbu ga mijjina da mijji ya
to adulterer the "Get inside granary see husband my." When husband he had
 zo sai ya che a na manta da wannu abu zan sa wuta a-rumbun
come then he said "Oh! I forgot about certain thing, I shall put fire to granary the
 nan na seyer da toka mu samu abinchi sai ta che a a
this, I shall sell ashes (that) we may obtain food." But she said "No, no,
 kadda ka kona ko akwai wannu maiseye sai ta je ta
lest (= do not) you burn, perhaps there is some purchaser." Then she went, she
 gaya ma yayan ta che to ga mijjina zaya sa wuta a-rumbu
told to children, she said "Now see husband my he about to put fire to granary,
 ubanku yana chikki kuma ku je ku seye
father your he is inside, now, you go, you buy."

sai da zuwansu tayan fari suka che zambar derri sai
Immediately on arrival their, bid first they said "Thousand hundred," but
 ya che albarka suka che zambar metin sai ya che albarka
he said "No thanks." They said "Thousand two hundred,† but he said "No thanks."
 suka che zambar derri u(k)ku sai ya che albarka suka che
They said "Thousand hundred three," but he said "No thanks." They said
 zambar arbamiya sai ya che albarka suka che zambar
"Thousand four hundred," but he said "No thanks." They said "Thousand
 derri biyar sai ya che ya salamma su kawo biya sai suka
hundred five." Then he said he accepted, let them bring payment. So they
 kawo biyar
brought payment the.

da suka biya sai ya zuba kurdi a-da(i)ki ya che to ui na
When they had paid, then he poured cowries in hut, he said "Well, I, I shall
 teffi teffiya kuma sai na komo ashe ya zaga ya
go journey again, until I return (= au revoir)." In reality he went around, he
 je bayan gidida don ubansu ya fitta sai uban ya
went back of compound so that father their he might get away. So father the he
 fito bup bup dagga chikin rufogo ya che na yi azzikki
jumped out "boop, boop," from inside granary, he said "I have been in luck,
 muzuru zaya kasshe kanwa tental
wild-cat would it kill cat civet?"‡

* Ashes are used instead of salt where this commodity is scarce.

† Two hundred thousand cowries. Finally, they paid 12½ 10s. for what was supposed to be worth perhaps 10s.

‡ i.e., is a common poor man to be allowed to kill a rich one?

No. 7.

waddanan de su kamman goma sha daya uban ya haifesu
These now, they (were) about ten-and-two, father the he had born them
 duk mazza shi ko nan da ya haifesu sai suka yi girrima da
all males. Now when he had born them, then they grew big. When
 suka yi girrima sai babban nasu ya shigga yan kama daya
they had grown big, then eldest the of them he entered children of drum, one*
 kuwa iya karata daya kuma ya teffi iya noma duk suka passhe dagga
also he was reading, one also he went, he was farming. All they departed from
 gun babban sai auta† karuwaye sai uban ya seye mi-shi
place of father the except Baby Rake.‡ And father the he bought for him
 madubi ya seye tozali duk kayan karuwanchi
looking-glass, he bought antimony (for eyes) all paraphernalia of seduction
 akaseye wa yaro shi ke nan da akaseye ma-sa
there was bought for boy. Now when there had been bought for him (these),
 sai auta ya teffi yawon karuwanchi da ya teffi sai ya taradda
then Baby he went practising seduction. When he had gone, lo! he came upon
 maisassakar jirrigi ya che auta karua enna zaka ya che zani
owner of canoe, he said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He replied "I go
 yawon karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi
practising seduction." Then he (other) said "May I come, (so that) we go (together)
 ne sai ya che zo manna en yi auta karuwa
is (it)?" And he replied "Come certainly," (so said) Baby Rake.

shi ke nan sai dagga nan suna teffiya sai suka taradda maituƙar
So after that they were travelling when they came upon paddler of
 jirrigi ya che auta karuwa enna zaka ya che zani yawon
canoe. He said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He replied "I go practising
 karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi ne sai ya che zo
seduction." Then he said "May I come we go is (it)?" And he replied "Come
 manna
certainly."

shi ke nan sai iya teffiya sai ya gamma da barawo kan arufe
Now he was travelling on when he met with thief (if is shut
 ido ya yi sata ku sai ya che auta karuwa enna zaka ya
eye he makes theft immediately).§ And he said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He
 che zani yawon karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi ne
replied "I go practising seduction." Then he said "May I come we go is (it)?"
 sai ya che zo manna
and he replied "Come certainly."

suna teffiya sai suka samu maisaurare shi ko
They were travelling on when they came to watcher he now (if)
 anamaganna a fada kogoro en ya tsaya a jemaa ya saurara sai
there should be talk in Fada Kagoro (and) if he stood in Jemaa, he looked, then
 ya ji sai ya che auta karuwa enna zaka ya che zani
he would hear. And he said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He replied "I go

* i.e., became a drummer.

† *auta* means youngest, the baby of the family.

‡ The *karuwa* is a person of loose morals.

§ This is a *kirari* or description of the thief. Such a thief that he could steal from you even while you winked.

yawon karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi ne sai ya
practising seduction. Then he said "May I come we go is (it)?" And he
 che zo manna
 replied "Come certainly."

sai kuma suna teffiya sai suka gammu da sa(r)rikin ya(i)ki
Now again they were travelling on when they met with leader in war,
 duk shi ne kain ya(i)ki duk duniya ko ya mika hanu bissa
whole he was head of war (armies) whole world, if he stretched hand on high
 sai mutane su mutu sai ya che auta karuwa enna zaka ya
then men they would die. And he said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He
 che zani yawon karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi ne
 replied "I go practising seduction." Then he said "May I come we go is (it)?"
 sai ya che zo manna
 And he replied "Come certainly."

Shi ke nan suna teffiya sai ya gammu da sa(r)rikin jefa
Well, they were travelling on when he met with champion of throwing,
 iya da dan keranshi mailauje komi kankantan tsuntsu en ya
he was with small throwing-stick his, bent, whatever small size of bird, if he
 jefa sai ya fado sai ya che auta karuwa enna zaka ya che zani
threw, then it fell. And he said "Baby Rake, where go you?" He replied "I go
 yawon karuwanchi sai ya che en zo mu teffi ne sai ya
practising seduction." Then he said "May I come we go is (it)?" And he
 che zo manna
 replied "Come certainly."

shi ke nan sai suka teffi babban ga(r)ri da suka je dayamma suka
Well, then they went big city. When they had gone, in evening they
 sauka agiddan wota jatuma wai ta tasakalla mainki
lodged at house of certain hag, it was said (of) her old thing, fat your (is only)
 akaure shi ke nan sai auta ya che jatuma ba zaki yi min alkawali
at knee. And so Baby he said "Hag, not will you do for me help*
 en nema matar sa(r)rikin ga(r)rin nan ba sai ta yerda ai jatuma
that I seduce wife of chief of city the this not?" And she agreed. Ah! hag
 bakeau en kana da mata maikeau ka ji dadi jatuma sai
not good, if you are with wife owner of goodness, you feel happy, hag then
 ta kasshe ma-ka aure nan da nan shi ke nan sai ta che to
she will destroy for you marriage immediately.† Well then, she said "Very well."
 sai ya ba ta goro kamman gu(d)da ashirin da turare sai ya che to
So he gave her kolas about units twenty, and scent. And he said "Good,
 ki teffi ki gaisheta amma da da derre ina zuwa sai ta che
you go, you salute her, but (=and) by night I am coming." So she said
 to
 "Very well."

sai shi ke nan sai ta rufe da fefe ta kai samma
Well so she covered (them) with mat, she put above (=on head),
 sai ta tashi talha akofar sa(r)riki sai fadawan sa(r)riki
and she commenced crying (wares) at door of chief. Then attendants of chief
 suka rufeta da duka sai sa(r)riki ya che ku ber ta ta shigga ko
they covered her with blows. But chief he said "You leave her, she enter, if
 mata suna so su seye dadawa su sha da marimari su yi sai
wives they like they buy cakes they take with sweetmeats they may do (so)." So

* See *kirari* of women, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, chapter VII; *waiwai* = "gossip."

† i.e., if you have a good wife, and are bappy, the hag will try to part you.

ta shigga shi ke nan sai ita wanda auta karuwa ya ke so ta kirra
she entered. It happened she whom Baby Rake he was wanting, she called
 jatuma da ta zo sai ta che ga shi wannu wai
hag. When she had come, then she (hag) said "See this, certain (one), said (of)
 shi auta karuwa ya ba ni wai en kawo mi-ki sai ta karba
him Baby Rake, he gave me, said I must bring to you." And she (wife) accepted,*
 ta bai jatuma kurdi da goro shi ke nan sai ta che to shi
she gave hag cowries and kolas. Then she (hag) said "Good, he,

auta karuwa iya zuwa da da derre sai ta che allah ya kano shi
Baby Rake, he is coming by night." And she replied "God may He bring him."

shi kuwa auta ya iya kiddan molo da gaski sai
He, now, Baby, he could play guitar with truth (=well). When
 akeyi berchi fadawa suna kofar gidida bayi suna
there was being made sleep, attendants they were door of palace, slaves they were
 zandre sa(r)riki ya shigga iya berchi da jatuma ta komo
entrance-porch, chief he went inside, he was sleeping. When hag she returned
 gidida ta che kofar da(i)ki da durimi en ka je shi zaka
home, she said "Door of hut (is) with ficus tree, when you go, it you will
 shigga sai auta karuwa da ya zo sai ya shigga da(i)ki iya
enter."† So Baby Rake when he had come, then he entered hut, he was
 kiddan molo da iya kiddan molo sai kayan shimfida na sa(r)riki
playing guitar. While he was playing guitar lo! things of spreading of chief
 ta shimfida wa auta karuwa iya kiddan molo shi ke nan
it (they) spread (themselves) for Baby Rake; he was playing guitar.‡ Well
 sai auta karuwa ya seye turare kamman na kororo ya
now, Baby Rake he had bought scent about of bag (=skinful), he
 zubar da(i)ki duka ya dauke kamshi shi ke nan sai sa(r)riki ya ji
poured (it out); hut whole it took fragrance. Well then chief he heard
 kiddan molo sai ya che a-enna akekiddan molon nan sai
playing of guitar, so he said "At where there is playing of guitar the that?" Then,
 ya tashi fadawa da bayinshi ya che to duk azare bu(n)nu daya
he roused attendants and slaves his, he said "Now, each pull thatch-straw, one,
 daya dagga samman da(i)ki da auta karuwa ya ke chikki sai ya che aterri
one, from roof of hut which Baby Rake he is inside." And he said "Guard
 kofa kuma shi auta karuwa da yariniya su ba sun ji ba
door also." He, Baby Rake, and girl, they not they heard not.

sai maisaurare ya mika kainsa ya ji sai ya tashi barawo ya che
Now watcher he stretched head his, he heard, so he roused thief, he said
 ka teffi ga ranarka sai barawo ya tashi ya zammi
"You go, see day (=opportunity) your." So thief he arose, he turned into
 ba(k)kin kanwa ya shigga da(i)kin da autan karuwa ya ke chikki sai
black cat, he entered hut which Baby Rake he was inside. Then
 ya juye autan karuwa kaddanga(r)ri matar kuwa ita ya
he changed Baby Rake (into) crocodile of city (=lizard) woman the also her he
 juyeta kaddanga(r)ri sa(r)riki ya che kuwa opp ga kanwa ni ma ina
changed her (into) lizard chief he said, however, "Oh, see cat, I, now, I am

* i.e., "a certain youth whose name is," &c.

† i.e., "there is a ficus tree by the side of the door of the hut in which is the woman whom you desire, so go in there."

‡ The meaning is that the music caused the mats and skins, used for the chief when he slept there, to place themselves ready for *Auto* to sleep upon.

da ita ta kamo kaddanga(r)ri ne ku ber ta shi ko barawo
with her, she has caught lizard (it) is, you let her (go)." He, now, thief,
 ya teffi da su suka fuche dagga ga(r)rin
he went off with them, they passed out of city.

sai shi ke nan sai suka zare da(i)ki duka ba su ga
Well so they (attendants) pulled down hut whole, not they saw
 komi ba sai sa(r)riki ya bakura ya che to sai su waddanan
anything not. Then chief he calmed, he said "Very well." But they others
 da suka fuche dagga ga(r)ri suka teffi suka zo rafi en sun
when they had escaped out of city, they went, they came river. When they had
 zo rafi sai maisassakar jirrigi nan da nan ya sassaka jirrigi maikau
come river then hewer of canoe immediately he hewed out canoe owner of goodness,
 nan de nan maitukar jirrigi ya tuka shi sai suka haye suka teffi
immediately paddler of canoe he paddled it, so they crossed, they went off.

There is a good deal of the ending missing from the above, as a variant the chief pursues and is held off by the warrior and the slinger until the canoe has been made, and one would expect this from the commencement.

No. 8.

da gizzo ne da gaurakiya sai gizzo ya auro ta da
And spider (it) is and hen-crown-bird. Now spider he married her. When
 gizzo ya auro ta sai ya kawo ta giddansu ga da(i)kin uwar
spider he had married her, then he brought her house their, see hut of mother the,
 ga na gizzo
*see (that) of spider.**

shi ke nan sai gizzo ya che zo ki karbe hatsi ki yi abinehi sai
Well, spider he said "Come, you take grain, you make food," but
 gaurakiya sai ta yi kuka sai uwar gizzo ta che mi
hen-crown-bird then she began crying. Then mother of spider she said "What
 ka yi ma-ta sai ya che na che ta zo ta yi
you have done to her?" And he replied "I said she should come, she should make
 nikka ta ki sai uwar gizzo ta che kai ba ka yi
grinding, she has refused." Then mother of spider she said "You, not you do (it)?"
 ta yi wadon fadda ke nan sai gizzo ya dauka hatsi ya
She made commencement of trouble is this. Then spider he took grain, he
 yi nikka.
ground (it).

sai ya che to zo ki sa tukuniya ki yi abinehi sai
Then he said "Well, come, you put pot (on fire) you make food," but
 ta yi kuka sai dagga chan uwar gizzo ta che mi ka
she began crying. Then from over there mother of spider she said "What you have
 yi ma-ta sai ya che na che ta yi girriki ta ki
done to her?" And he replied "I said she should make fire up, she has refused."
 sai uwar gizzo ta che kai ba ka yi shi ke nan sai ya dauke
Then mother of spider she said "You, not you do (it)?" So then he took,
 ya sa tukuniya ya girrika sai shi ke nan sai da tukuniya ta
he put pot (on fire), he made up fire. Well when pot it
 taffar sai ya che zo ki tuka sai ta yi kuka sai uwar gizzo
boiled, then he said "Come you stir," but she began crying. Then mother of spider

* The spider was living in the family compound, and his own mother's hut was close by.

ta che mi ka yi ma-ta sai ya che na che ta yi
she said "What you have done to her?" And he replied "I said she should make
 tnka ta ki sai uwar gizzo ta che kai ba ku yi
stirring, she has refused." Then mother of spider she said "You, not you do (it)
 ba sai gizzo ya tuka tuwo
not?" So spider he stirred food.

da gizzo ya tuka tuwo sai ya che to zo ki dauka naki
When spider he had stirred food, then he said "Well, come, you take yours,
 ki chi sai yariiniya ta yi kuka sai uwar gizzo ta
you eat," but girl (crown-bird) she began crying. Then mother of spider she
 che mi ka yi ma-ta sai ya che na che ta zo
said "What you have done to her?" And he replied "I said she should come
 ta dauka nata ta chi sai uwar gizzo ta che kai ba
she should take hers, she should eat." Then mother of spider she said "You, not
 ka ba ta ba sai shi ke nan sai gizzo ya dauka tuwo ya ba yariiniya
you give her not?" So therefore then spider he took porridge he gave girl.
 sai ta dauka ta chi
So she took (it), she ate.

shi ke nan sai derre ya yi sai gizzo ya che to hau gaddo ma
Well then night it came, and spider he said "Well, get upon bed now,
 ki kwanta sai ta yi kuka sai uwar gizzo ta che mi
you lie down," but she began crying. Then mother of spider she said "What
 ka yi ma-ta sai gizzo ya che na che ta hau gaddo
you have done to her?" And spider he replied "I said she should get upon bed."
 sai uwar gizzo ta che kai ba ka dauketa ba sai gizzo ya
Then mother of spider she said "You, not you carry her not?" So spider he
 zo ya dauketa ya sa akan gaddo
came, he lifted her, he put upon bed.

sai da ya sa ta sai ya che to gara sai ta yi
Then when he had put her, then he said "Now, get ready," but she began
 kuka sai uwar gizzo ta che mi ka yi ma-ta sai ya
crying. Then mother of spider she said "What you have done to her?" And he
 che na che ta gara ta ki sai uwar gizzo
replied "I said she should get ready, she has refused." Then mother of spider
 ta che kai ba ka gara ta ba sai gizzo ya gara ta
she said "You not you prepare her not?" So spider he prepared her.

da ya gara ta sai ya kwanta ya ber ta kamma zaya
When he had prepared her, then he lay down, he left alone her as if he would
 yi berchi sai shi ke nan kamma tsakkan derre uwar gizzo kuma ba
make sleep. But about middle of night—mother of spider, too, not
 ta yi berchi ba gizzo ya kwanche zennenta sai yariiniya sai ta
she made sleep not—spider he snatched off clothes her. Then girl, then she
 fu(r)aka sai ta yi kuka
woke up, then she began crying:

ni gaurakiya yan na mutu babu noma
*"I hen-crown-bird to-day I die no (more) farming."**
 tana nan tana kuka anche kukan mene ta che
She was there, she was crying. It was said "Crying for what?"† She replied
 gizzo ya kasshe ta da terkache sai uwar gizzo ta
spider he would kill her with possessions (genitals). Then mother of spider she

* She would never again accompany her own people to pick up seeds on the farms.

† The mother had not gone to sleep, and it was she who asked the question.

che mi ka yi ma-ta sai gizzo ya che ina so en chi
 said "What you have done to her?" And spider he replied "I desire that I have
 ta sai uwar gizzo sai ta zageshi wai ya berri
 her." But mother of spider then she abused him it was said he should leave off.
 shi ke nan sai ya berri
 Well so he left off.

ga(r)ri ya waye kuma sai ya che da yariniya ta
 Town it was astir (=dawn), however, then he said to girl she should
 gara kayanta duk ta teffi ba ya sonta suka rabbu
 collect possessions her all, she should go not he wanted her. They separated.

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REVIEWS.

Religion.

Frazer.

Psyche's Task: a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt. D.: Second edition. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1913. Pp. xii + 186. Price 5s. 77

The first edition of *Psyche's Task* was reviewed in these pages, Vol IX. (1909) No. 83, p. 143. The present edition is revised and enlarged, chiefly "by the discussion of a curious point of savage etiquette," but otherwise substantially the same, and the admirable discourse on the scope of social anthropology with which Dr. Frazer opened his first professional course at Liverpool has been added.

The reviewer of the first edition expressed the opinion that the modest propositions which alone the book professed to uphold were abundantly proved. With that opinion everyone must concur. I am not sure that all the illustrations adduced strengthen Professor Frazer's case. One would like to know how the German writer, from whom he cites a statement concerning the Masai, defines adultery. The statement is that the Masai hold that "if a father were to touch his infant on the day after he had been guilty of adultery, the child would fall sick." So far as I am aware there is no such thing as adultery apart from incest, or what is equivalent to incest in the Masai code, namely, intercourse with a person of the opposite sex belonging to a different "age." The "sexual crime" to whose "blighting influence" among the adjacent Nandi Professor Frazer calls attention is not what might be inferred. It is not ante-nuptial unchastity, for that is universal and perfectly regular among the Nandi, as well as among the Masai. It is conception. So long as sexual intercourse between unmarried persons has not this result, the girl is blameless; she is subject to no taboo, social or otherwise. It is gravely to be doubted whether unchastity among the Basuto causes defilement. It is true that, for certain ceremonial purposes, as the kindling of new fire, a virgin youth is required. The Basuto are not peculiar in this; whatever may be the reason of it, it is clear that the punishment which follows the ceremonial performance by one who does not fulfil the requirement, follows not for unchastity, but for the breach of a purely ritual condition. "Sexually clean," too, in Morocco, must mean pure from all sexual contact, even the most legitimate. Mahomedan law requires ceremonial ablution to restore "purity" after every such contact. In the case of a woman, "uncleanness" may mean, of course, something more; and women are commonly, although not everywhere in Morocco, forbidden to enter granaries at all. The Anyanja are notoriously unchaste. If a man accidentally met a solitary woman he would not pass her by; and if she refused him he might kill her. Adultery by a husband is not recognised. Adultery by a wife seems to be resented partly because it is an infringement of the rights of her husband, but more because it is held to have a magical effect upon him if he go hunting, or if he take food she may have subsequently prepared for

him; it is witchcraft which may cause his death. The same reason seems to govern the rules of sexual morality among the Awemba.

I cannot accede to the proposition that "wherever we find that incest, adultery and fornication are treated by the community with extreme rigour, we may reasonably infer that . . . the reason for so doing has probably been a belief that the effect of all such delinquencies is to disturb the course of nature, and thereby to endanger the whole people, who accordingly must protect themselves by effectually disarming and, if necessary, exterminating the delinquents." The reason for treating post-nuptial infidelity and ante-nuptial incontinence with extreme rigour may very often be no more than the indignation of the husband whose rights are infringed, or of the parent for the depreciation of the market value of the commodity he has to dispose of. That it is said to be more than this in many cases, such as are here rightly adduced, by no means proves it for all. Incest, it is true, the union of persons of opposite sexes forbidden by the customs of the tribe, stands on a different footing from the other infractions of sexual rules. But I think we ought to require proof that the course of nature is held to be disturbed by it, before making such an inference. Professor Frazer himself calls attention to the fact that it is, for some purposes and among some nations, not merely tolerated, but enjoined. This should put us on our guard. Our plain duty is to consider each case in relation to the other customs and beliefs of the people concerned—in a word, to their entire culture.

But we may subtract from this and other sections of the work all the illustrations that seem inapplicable. We shall still have ample support for the main thesis. It was time to consider the useful aspect of superstition: its baneful, stupid, and merely ridiculous aspects have long been a theme for moralist and philosopher, as well as anthropologist. All who are interested in the history of civilisation will be grateful to Professor Frazer for making a beginning. He jocularly calls superstition his "disreputable client." She has no reason to regret the exertions of her very distinguished advocate. Now that he has shown the way, others will doubtless follow.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

Archæology: Spain.

Breuil: del Río: Obermaier.

La Pasiega (Santander, Spain). Institut de la Paléontologie, Paris. 78
Published at Monaco, 1913. Pp. 64. Plates XXIX. Fig. 25.

This is another of that wonderful series of monographs on prehistoric cave paintings for which we are indebted to the liberality of the Prince of Monaco and to the energy of the distinguished band of explorers whose labours he has so ably assisted. Of course it does not possess such interest for the ordinary reader as that epoch-making volume *La Caverne d'Altamira*, the first of the series, nor does it contain so many new subjects as the volume on the *Font de Gaume*, but as a corroborative and complementary work it has great value. It is not given to everyone to go to Spain, or to those out-of-the-way parts of France where cave paintings may be studied, and even for those who do go it is not easy at once to realise the meaning of the strange forms and colours indistinctly seen on the rough surface of the roofs and walls of gloomy caverns. At one time some archæologists refused to regard them as real pictures, and thought that the sketches first published of them were to a large extent figments of the brain. They believed that enthusiastic copiers had "read into" the natural contours and striations of the rock meanings that were merely casual resemblances to the forms of various extinct animals, just as some enthusiastic flint collectors see the artificially formed birds and beasts and fishes in many of the strangely shaped stones that may be found in almost any gravel pit. Hasty and ignorant reviewers—the successors of those

who had jeered at Bouchier de Perthes, at Lartet, or at Christy, and the predecessors of those who for all ages will always jeer at scientific conclusions that would compel them to recast their fossilised ideas—these men were eloquent with their sarcasms; for was it not incredible that man should have lived in France when it was inhabited by the mammoth or even the rhinoceros? And was it not impossible to believe that art should have flourished without the help of powerful kings and wealthy patrons?

Experienced workers are careful to suspend their judgment; they wait for the decisions of specialists. Only the other day I saw some drawings and photographs of strange figures in an English cave which much resembled the outlines of bison, but the Abbé Breuil has decided against their being of human handiwork. It requires great zeal and patience as well as good artistic perception to distinguish and classify the confused and often half-obliterated forms painted or engraved by the mysterious race or races of mankind who dwelt in France when it had a climate in some centuries more temperate than at present, but in others far more rigorous. Mere zeal or even mere artistic knowledge is not sufficient without the minute and careful study which few can give to such a subject. It is a pity that critics do not more often call to mind the reply that Ruskin made to an enthusiastic lady who professed to have seen at once the beauty and meaning of a picture after she had read his remarks about it. "Madame, I am glad you saw it at once, it took me 'nearly twenty years to perceive it.'"

Therefore, although in turning over the pages of *La Pasiéga* the ordinary student may not perceive much that seems really new or important, yet to the expert it will be invaluable. The careful renderings of the numerous paintings—chiefly of deer and horse, with a few bison, by Abbé Breuil are supplemented by excellent photographs taken by M. Obermaier, his fellow professor at the Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, and by a large scale plan of the cave made from the surveys of M. Alcalde del Rio.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the cave is the prevalence of red figures, but some of the "inscriptions symboliques" are very interesting and mysterious. The wide publicity given to such inscriptions by these monographs may, by bringing them to the notice of workers in other fields of anthropology, possibly result in their being explained or even interpreted. M. Breuil has succeeded in classifying chronologically the "tectiform" figures, but he does not say whether he considers the variation in design as denoting a development of the type of dwelling or a development in the art of representing it. The "claviform" signs still remain incomprehensible, but the Abbé suggests that they may represent clubs. He also thinks that some of the combinations of signs may be sentences warning the initiated against the dangers of the deep pitfalls frequently found in these caves. We hope that these problems may perhaps be solved by the researches he is making now in some caves in the south of Spain, a labour in which we are glad to note he is being assisted by two Englishmen, Colonel Willoughby Verner and Mr. Burkitt. H. G. SPEARING.

Pacific: Archæology.

Enock.

The Secret of the Pacific. By C. Reginald Enock. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1912.

79

This is a book which deals in a very broad and general way with the archæology of Mexico, Central America, Peru, and the Pacific Islands. The author has himself visited the ruins which he describes, so that his descriptions have the merit of being based upon personal observation. But as soon as he quits the *terra firma* of personal narrative for the shifting sands of conjecture on sources and influences, we are more struck by his imaginative than his critical powers. An undue proportion

of space is occupied with quotations from other works, the *Encyclopædia Britannica* figuring largely among them. The author himself calls the book a "fragmentary résumé," and states that his purpose is to stimulate further inquiry rather than to provide a compendium of information.

A book of this size, attempting to cover so large a field, must necessarily suffer from superficial treatment, which is not a good foundation on which to build theories of connection between cultures. The suggestions afforded by vague resemblances in the art of different races are likely to be illusive; what the student requires is systematic and minute investigation of details. The author, like many others before him, evidently wishes to see a close connection, not merely racially, but culturally also, between Mexico and Peru on the one hand and Asia on the other, Egypt, Assyria, and China all being suggested as possible sources of direct influence. But he produces no convincing argument in support of his theories; for, to take only one instance, we cannot admit the similarity of designs such as the "Greek fret," much less lines, waves, and zigzags, as evidence for direct contact between two cultures. It is well known that the number and variety of designs in plain woven basketry is limited, and that these tend to recur independently wherever the arts are practised, and to be transferred as decorative *motifs* from one kind of object to another, regardless of structural necessity.

The Greek fret need be no more than a basketry version of a "loop-coil" meander, and as such may well have had independent birth in different parts of the world.

We are bound to confess that a single piece of negative evidence such as is furnished by the absence of the wheel in ancient America in any form whatever seems to us more convincing than the positive evidence of a host of vague similarities.

A protest is necessary against calling Mexican temples "replicas of pyramids," in view of the essential differences both in their structure and purpose, while the use of such phrases as "Mexican Pharaohs," "American Solomons," "Hispano-Egyptian denizens of the New World," "Mexican-Græco-Buddhist" as applied to the ruins of Mitla rather begs the whole question of oriental influence.

Sufficient has been said to show that the book is popular and discursive rather than scientific; it will entertain and stimulate the interest of the novice, without, we hope, unduly biasing his judgment. The descriptive and narrative portions are the best, while there are a number of good photographs illustrating the text.

H. J. B.

Africa, West.

Benton.

The Sultanate of Bornu. Translated from the German of Dr. A. Schultze, with additions and appendices, by P. Askell Benton, B.A., F.R.G.S., Third Class Resident Northern Nigeria. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 4½ inches x 7 inches. Pp. 401. 80

Bornu, the subject of this compact little volume may be said to have been for the last thousand years the political, as well as the geographical, centre of Africa. No exhaustive study of the land and its people has so far been attempted, and the present work comes as a valuable addition to the knowledge of both. The first half consists of a translation of studies by Dr. Schultze, the most important of which, from the point of view of the present reviewer at least, are the chapters dealing with the Flora and Fauna. It is not without interest to note that since the author wrote, "It has not yet been definitely settled whether one of the bush pigs (*Potamocharus*) is found in Bornu," several examples have been brought to England from that region.

When the author turns to the history and customs of the people, he is on less sure ground. Several errors are noted and rectified by the translator as regards British Bornu, with which the latter is well acquainted; but, when dealing with lands and peoples beyond the sphere of British influence, no such help can naturally be given to the reader. For instance, although Dr. Schultze saw no saddles among the Musgu, it is hardly correct to say that such things are quite unknown among this tribe. Nor, in passing through this country, did the reviewer come across a single instance of what Dr. Schultze states as "characteristic" of them, *i.e.*, "the barbarous way in which they retain their seat on a horse . . . As saddles are quite unknown, the Musgu supply the deficiency by causing an artificial sore on the place where the saddle ought to go of a horse otherwise in good condition; this sore is kept continuously open, so that the rider is as it were glued to his horse."

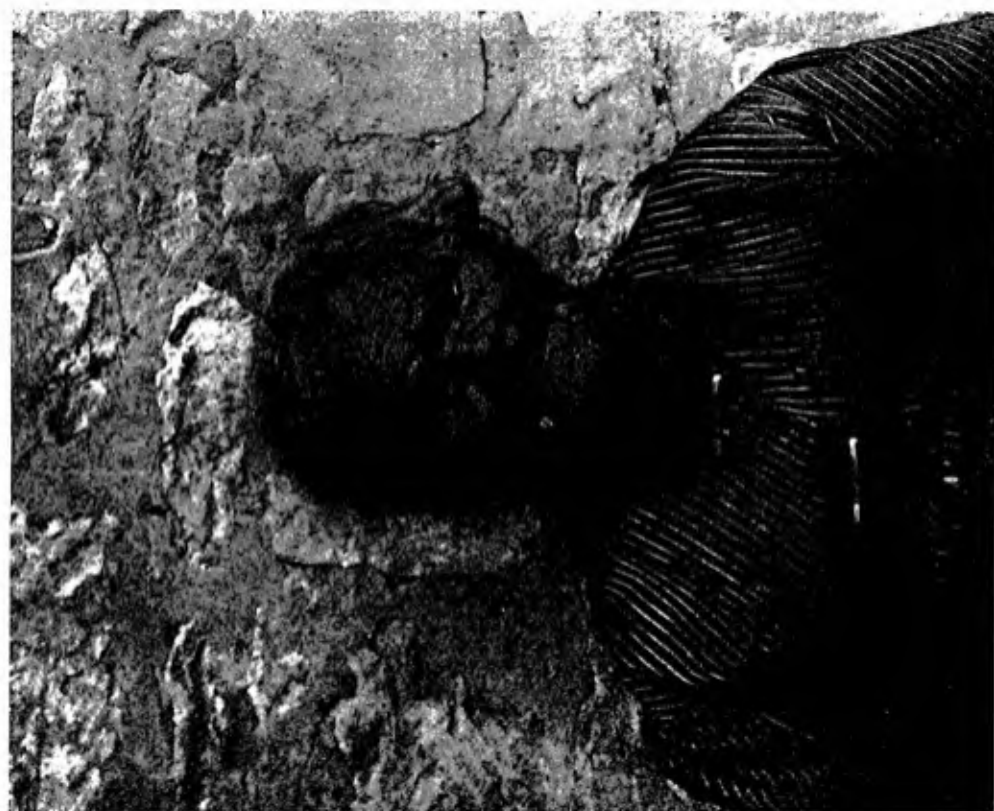
Nor are all Musgu so "very primitive" in the matter of clothing. During our visit in 1910, most of the men in Musgum itself were wearing long Mahomedan robes, while nearly all the women were attired in something more than a "band of rope-like twisted grass."

Apropos of the interdict on Maria Theresa dollars into English, and—*pace* Mr. Benton—German territory, it may be remarked that from a trader's point of view this prohibition is a great hindrance to international commerce, since it is the only coin which is readily accepted from Nigeria to Abyssinia. In the Territoire Militaire du Tchad, 1910-11, these dollars had reached such a premium that four and even five francs, instead of the ordinary three, were eagerly offered for them.

Since Dr. Schultze's work is the most complete modern monograph on Bornu, it is the more to be regretted that it takes practically no account of later English works on the subject. For instance, neither Lady Lugard's *A Tropical Dependency* nor Boyd Alexander's *From the Niger to the Nile* are so much as mentioned in the bibliography. Later publications, such as Mr. Benton's own works and *Boyd Alexander's Last Journey*, by Herbert Alexander, naturally were not available. This fact would partly explain the author's remark on p. 39: "Our knowledge of the British part of the country has not been substantially increased since Rohlf's and Nachtigal's time. The exact opposite is true of the German part . . . for it has been so thoroughly explored in all directions by Germans as well as French that very little remains to be done in the geographical department of enquiry."

So well does Mr. Benton's translation run that one can hardly notice that it is not an original English work. To him we are also indebted for the whole latter half of the book, which contains a mass of information in appendices:—First, a précis and translations from Tilho's works; secondly, a translation of Julius Lippert's *Life of Rabeh*; and thirdly, unpublished correspondence on the Oudney-Denham-Clapperton Mission to Bornu in 1821-24, which Mr. Benton has, with great industry, unearthed from the Record Office and the Royal Geographical Society. The letters are most interesting, and, from a historical point of view, their publication is of importance; though it comes as somewhat of a shock to learn so much concerning the internal dissensions and quarrels of the members of an expedition which, whatever its faults and failings, brought glory to the British name.

It is earnestly to be hoped that Mr. Benton will continue to amass and publish further information, thus helping to take away the reproach, implied by Dr. Schultze, that the British know and care less about their dominion in West Africa than any other European people. That Mr. Benton should have found time amid the pressure of official work for studies such as these is, to those who know the conditions under which such things are done, more eloquent than any words. P. AMAURY TALBOT.



MARY SEYMOUR, TASMANIAN HALF-CASTE.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Tasmania.

With Plate L.

Basedow.

Relic of the Lost Tasmanian Race.—Obituary Notice of Mary Seymour. *By Dr. Herbert Basedow; Local Correspondent for Australia of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.* **81**

An interesting identity passed away at Hog Bay, Kangaroo Island, on Tuesday, September 9th, 1913. It was Mrs. Mary Seymour, a true half-caste Tasmanian, who was born on September 11th, 1833, at Wilson's River (Kangaroo Island). The mother of the deceased was a full-blooded Tasmanian aboriginal who, together with other native women, was kidnapped by whalers and brought to Kangaroo Island in an open whale-boat about the year 1828. Among these men was one named Nat Thomas, who became the husband of Mary's mother. Of this union came three children: a boy named Sam (born 1830) and two girls, Mary and Hannah (born about 1833 and 1839, respectively). It was during these years that several runaway whalers (including two by name of George Horman and Pirkey) imported some young aboriginal women from Cape Jervis on the mainland opposite. Quite a number of children are said to have been brought to the world as a result of this importation, but according to Mrs. Seymour, they either died from natural causes or were knocked on the head directly they were born.* The black women from the mainland were made to keep the men supplied regularly with food, which they obtained by hunting and fishing. Mrs. Seymour often remarked that the Tasmanian women never would join the women from the mainland in their hunting expeditions, but "regarded themselves as much superior in every respect." It was on that account that the Tasmanian women kept to themselves and hunted in separate parties. In this way Mary, her brother, and young sister spent the greater part of their childhood hunting and camping along the south coast of Kangaroo Island, where kangaroos, wallabies, opossums, fish, and shell-fish were to be found in abundance. Mary, in common with her brother and sister, lived this life for some ten or twelve years, never speaking to her mother in other than the native Tasmanian tongue. Even in later life Mary preferred the language her mother had taught her, and always spoke it when she met her sister (who predeceased her by about two years). Mary married Joseph Seymour when only sixteen years of age. It was only then that she was educated by the lighthouse-keepers and learned to read and write English.

Of Mary's brother, Sam, little is known. When but sixteen years of age he joined a whaling vessel at Antechamber Bay and left for England. Mary received one letter advising her of his safe arrival at Liverpool and that he was about to join the crew of a boat bound for China. This is the last that was heard of Sam Thomas.

Mary claimed to be "the first woman born on Kangaroo Island." She was an interesting character to converse with, and graphic were her accounts of experiences in the pioneering days of South Australia. Her father and husband became keepers of the Cape Willoughby Lighthouse, and later took up land at Antechamber Bay. When her husband died Mary bought 268 acres of land near Hog Bay, and started a farm with the assistance of her son and daughter. Together they cleared twelve acres and built a stone house. Mary at that time could handle a plough as well as any man, but although she worked with a will, she ultimately found it necessary to sell out. The children of the deceased, Mr. Joseph Seymour and Mrs. E. Barrett, survive her. Although a sufferer from a fractured knee-cap and chronic rheumatism,

* Deeds of this description do not belong to the early days of settlement alone. Quite recently crimes of a similar nature were brought under my notice on the north coast of Australia.

for which she had latterly been under my treatment, she always displayed a cheerful disposition.

Mrs. Seymour was a woman of short but robust stature. The facial features indicated a keen intellect combined with a determined will; both of these characteristics being well known to persons who had had the privilege of her acquaintance. Seen in profile, the "deep notch below the glabella at the root of the nasal bones" betrays a Tasmanoid inheritance described by Dr. Garson* as one of the characteristics of the race. The hair was silken, white, and wavy, the eyebrows bushy. The lips and chin were remarkably free from hairs. The skin was of a dark bronze-brown and wrinkled with age. The lower jaw was well developed, and had a big loose flap of skin attached to it that produced a very noticeable double-chin. The keen, small eyes lay deep within their sockets; their colour was a greyish brown.

It is of some interest to compare the accompanying photographs of Mary Seymour with those of Mrs. Fanny Cochraine Smith, of Port Cygnet, Tasmania, published by H. Ling Roth.† Both individuals were true Tasmanian half-castes, and there is a striking resemblance in their facial features. The characteristic notch below the glabella is certainly more marked in Mrs. Seymour's case than in Mrs. Smith's.

H. BASEDOW.

Fiji.

Hocart.

The Disappearance of a Useful Art in Rotuma. By A. M. Hocart. 82

Ethnology, in order to progress, has not only to gather in new material, but also to rid itself of the many old fallacies that govern our treatment of the material. Dr. Rivers has done yeoman service in attacking the utilitarian fallacy.‡ I am glad to be able to support with an actual case from Rotuma his suggestion that reasons of magic may cause a useful art to disappear.

A man named Fang and his wife Teraniŋ invented the big nets of line (*alol*). Their two sons, Fakaututu and Savatamäür, invented a big net twenty fathoms long for turtle fishing (*vao kɣluang hoi*). Savatamäür begot Savatató, and Savatató begot Sorfo'ou, and Marifang, and Tató, and Sö'sö'ük.¶ Here I leave the narrative to Sa'a, a woman of Malhah.

"The fourth son died through the words of Irav (who was then Sgu, or sacred chief). Irav told Savatató to bring his net to catch turtle in Sümla'. But Savatató did not bring the net and Irav was angry and said he could use his net to catch the thing that was hidden in the house (meaning Sö'sö'ük who was hidden in the house that people should not see him).¶ So Sö'sö'ük died and Savatató pulled off a float from the net, and buried Sö'sö'ük in the sand,** and said, 'You died through the net and the net will go with you' (that the net should not be made again).

"And it came to pass that a man came, Savatató's grandson, the son of Tato, Vāvā by name. And he told Savatató it would be well to make the net again, that one of his children or grandchildren should die. Savatató said it was well,

* "Is Mrs. F. C. Smith a Last Living Aboriginal of Tasmania?" *Journ. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. XXVII, Plate XXVII. Vide also Jas. Barnard: "Notes on the Last Living Aboriginal of Tasmania," *Proc. Rl. Soc. of Tasmania*, 1889.

† Vide H. Ling Roth: *Aborigines of Tasmania*.

‡ Festskrift t. Edouard Westermarck, Helsingfors, 1812, p. 109.

§ A sounds like a very broad o, but is written g for reasons that cannot be explained here.

¶ ' is like the Samoan break and represents an original ā, g is the reduced form of ā and lies between French è and e in je.

¶ To avoid the evil eye because he was so handsome.

** I understand that the float was buried with Sö'sö'ük, and Savatató's words show that it was so; but on turning to my notes I can find nothing to that effect. It is customary in Rotuma to bury people in sand.

that the price of it should be the children and the grandchildren of Vāvā. So the net was made again."

They do not make these nets any longer in Malhah because they are afraid, for if a new net is made some descendant of Vāvā will die. Besides the old folk that made the net are extinct.

Anyone who has been much among the South Sea islanders, and knows how important a place food, especially animal food, occupies in their minds, will admit that turtle fishing is not the least of their useful arts. And not only does turtle fishing satisfy one of their greatest necessities, but it was invested with great prestige, as turtle flesh was the food of chiefs. The importance attached to it is proved by the price that Vāvā was willing to pay for its revival. But Vāvā's descendants have not shared his enthusiasm for the art, and it has again fallen into abeyance in the district of Malhah.

If a curse could compel South Sea islanders to give up fishing it might very well compel them to give up canoes.

A. M. HOCART.

Archæology.

Lewis.

Standing Stones and Stone Circles in Yorkshire. *By A. L. Lewis.*

83

So far as I have been able to discover, the great county of York does not contain any dolmens, nor any of the larger non-sepulchral stone circles; but in almost all parts of it there have been numbers of what I call "barrow circles," that is, small circles of small stones surrounding tumuli. Most of these have been destroyed, and those which exist, at least on the Ordnance maps, if not on the moors, are often so inconspicuous as to be very difficult to find amongst the heather, and if found do not appear to offer any special features of interest. Amongst these are a cist and circles said to have existed at Obtrush Roque, in the North Riding, while in a paper on the "Antiquities in the South-west part of the County of York," read by the Rev. T. James, F.S.A., before the Huddersfield Archaeological and Topographical Association on 30. January 1867, I find mention of the "Alder Stones" in the wilderness above Mytholmroyd, the "Druidical Temple" above Slack, and the "Ladstone" on the edge of Norland Moor, but no detailed description of any of them, and I do not know whether they are still extant. Turning to the extreme west of the county, a guide book of 1891 informs us that at Bordley, between Malham and Grassington, there were the "remains of an ancient (supposed) "Druids' Temple, consisting of a mound 3 feet high and about 150 feet in circumference, where was formerly a complete stone circle with a large flat stone at one end called the 'Druids' Altar.'" The circle appears to have been destroyed in building the adjoining wall, and "all that is to be seen now" [1891] "are three upright stones raised above the earthwork." Other stone circles and cairns are spoken of as existing in the neighbourhood, and on Crow Hill, near Haworth, it is said "a huge cromlech or altar stone, weighing fully five tons, is laid horizontally upon two upright blocks now half concealed in the turf."

The 1-inch Ordnance map, surveyed in 1843-9, revised in 1910, and published in 1913, shows upon Rombald's Moor, above Ilkley, a "circle of stones," a "stone circle," and a "Druidical circle." Why so distinguished from one another I do not know. While staying at York last year I tried to see these circles, but could neither find nor hear of any traces of them, and I rather suspect that they have been demolished and their fragments used to make sconces or shelters in connection with grouse shooting. They are, however, described in Vol. 31 of *Archæologia* (1845), by Mr. J. M. N. Colls, as including "a circle of stones of various sizes, "from cubes of 3 feet to blocks of 4 or 5 feet by 2, chiefly set upon their edges, "and of the sandstone grit which here forms the substratum of the moor; this

"circle about 43 feet in diameter, and in its centre another small circle of seven stones, likewise set upon their edges." There were also many earth circles, that is, banks of earth and stone mixed, several of which had, even seventy years ago, been ruined for road-making purposes. Exploration of the centre of the stone circle produced nothing, but seemed to indicate that it had been previously disturbed. A circle, 27 feet in diameter, is said to have been destroyed in making a reservoir. The guide book of 1891 already mentioned describes these or other circles on these moors, but all as being in a state of dilapidation, which during the last twenty-three years has probably approached complete destruction. They were all most likely either burial circles or dwelling enclosures of one sort or another.

On Ilkley Moors there are also some rocks inscribed with concentric circles and other figures which have fortunately proved less attractive to the destroyers than have the circles whether of earth or stone.

There is a small circle called the "Druid Stones" on Cloughton Moor, between Scarborough and Ravenscar; it is 31 feet in diameter, and the present diameter of the mound in or on which it stood is about twice as much; there are what seem to be the remains of a cist near the middle of it. I found twenty-five stones and fragments, the largest of which were about 3 feet by 2 by 2. One appeared to have had a cross cut upon it. While on my way to this circle I was told of some stones at a farm near by, which I visited, and found them to be apparently the remains of a similar circle in still worse condition.

Four circles are marked on the Ordnance map on Wykeham Low Moor, but they are either of earth only or of such small stones as to be completely hidden by the heather, through which I struggled knee deep in search of them for some time, stirring up thousands of flies, but finding nothing else to reward my efforts.

It would be of little use or interest to enter into a description of these little burial circles; they are of a type common in many places, and might as well be in Siberia as in Yorkshire, just as this one by the Tashebà River, W.S.W. from Minusinsk, might quite as well be in Yorkshire as in Siberia. One might indeed think that the people who made this grave in Siberia were the ancestors of those who made similar ones in Yorkshire, but for the fact that the Siberian tumulus contained bronze and iron articles.

Although Yorkshire possesses no circles worthy of note, and no dolmens, it does contain some very remarkable menhirs or standing stones, which may even be said to form a class by themselves. The longest standing stone in the British Isles is in the churchyard at Rudston, near Bridlington. It stands at the north-east of the church, and is more than 40 feet long, but how much more is not known; 25 feet of it are above ground, and a hole has been dug by its side to a depth of 16 feet without reaching the bottom of it. Its greatest width and thickness are 6 feet and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet respectively, and it has been dressed to a regular shape. Its broad sides face East and West by compass, the line of May-day sunrise or thereabout. It is said to be a coarse ragstone or millstone grit, but its place of origin has, I believe, not been determined. It has been thought to have been erected in memory of some Viking named Rudd, but it seems that the original name of the place was Rodestan, and that it was not corrupted to Rudestone till 1266—long after the Viking period. As the stone stands to the north-east of the church, it is possible that there may have been a circle to the south-west, and that the church was placed so as to block the line of sunrise from the stone to the circle, as at Stanton Drew, but there are no remains of any circle now, and the absence of large circles in Yorkshire makes against the probability of there having been one here. Two cists in the churchyard were placed there in 1871, having been dug out of a field near by in 1869.

At Boroughbridge, about 15 miles north-west from York, there are three fine

menhirs, known as the "Devil's Arrows." They stand very nearly in a line, about 20° west of North and east of South. The most northerly one is 18 feet high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick; 197 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet from it is another, 22 feet high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and thick; and 362 feet further is the third, 23 feet high by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad and 4 feet thick. Camden, Leland, and Stukeley speak of a fourth stone, which, by putting their descriptions together, may be supposed to have stood between the first and the second, and close to the latter. Leland says they stood within 6 feet or 8 feet of each other. Camden says that they almost touched one another. Stukeley says two of the stones are exactly 100 cubits apart, and 100 cubits, at his standard measurement of $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches to the cubit, are only 173 feet, against 185 feet according to my measurement (197 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, less $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet for the thickness of the lost stone, and 8 feet for its greatest distance from the second existing one). He says further that two more stones, doubtless my second and third, are 200 cubits asunder, that is 346 feet, instead of 362 feet as measured by me. Again he says, in an unpublished letter of 1740, that another stone, at that time carried off, was 100 cubits more, in the whole making 400 cubits distance. This stone would obviously be in prolongation of the present line southwards. It will be seen that there is a considerable difference between Stukeley's measurements and mine, but between mine and those of the late Rev. W. C. Lukis there is only a difference of 1 foot in the whole length of 564 feet or 565 feet; and, after comparing a number of Stukeley's measurements, given both in feet and cubits, I have come to the conclusion that the feet represent his belief as to the actual measurement, and the cubits his view as to what the distance was intended to be or ought to have been. Mr. Leadman has stated, but I do not know upon what authority, that in 1694 there were seven stones here.

The three remaining stones are not exactly in line, a straight line between them would have the two end stones touching the east side of it and the middle stone touching the west side of it, and this deviation has caused some archaeologists to think that the stones did not all belong to the same line, but that there may have been an avenue, or even a number of lines, like those of Carnac, here. I myself am not of that opinion; a series of avenues at an ordinary distance from each other, and extending more than 700 feet in length, and a proportionate breadth, would have required some hundreds of stones, none of which would have been very small, if we may judge from those left, and I cannot believe, without further evidence than is afforded by the known destruction of two stones in two centuries, that all these would have been removed, leaving no trace behind except the three survivors. The middle line of which I have spoken would run from about 20° east of South to 20° west of North (true), and Sir Norman Lockyer thinks it may have indicated the rising place of a *centauri* at about 3,400 B.C. This direction of the line is very similar to that of the long line or lines at Shap, in Westmoreland, for which Sir Norman Lockyer suggests the same objective and date.

The stones themselves are of a soft grit, full of tiny pebbles, and the rain has worn long and deep channels on them, narrowing from the top downwards; these channels have been mistaken by at least one antiquary for artificial "flutings," but that they are water-worn channels is shown by their running straight down two slanting sides of a stone which leans, and by their being very long on the uppermost (third) side, and very short on the overhanging (fourth) side, of the same stone.

These grand menhirs at Rudston and Boroughbridge are so very different from the insignificant little barrow circles which have been so numerous in Yorkshire that we are led to the belief that they must have belonged to a different set of people, or, if to the same, then to a different period or development in the life of that people. It is perhaps more likely than not that they were set up as memorials of some event or other—possibly a battle; there was a battle at Boroughbridge

in 1322, in which Edward II defeated the Earls of Hereford and Lancaster, but that is much too recent to have been the cause of their erection. Still there may have been some long forgotten prehistoric fight in the same vicinity. Nothing, however, has been recorded or discovered to fix the age or object of these stones, but, as they are all four more or less squared and dressed, they are probably later than most monuments of their class; in these respects and in general appearance they more nearly resemble the uprights of the great trilithons at Stonehenge than any other monument in the British Isles—perhaps in the world. A. L. LEWIS.

Obituary: Bandelier.

MacIver.

Adolph Francis Bandelier. *By D. Randall MacIver.*

84

The death of Mr. Adolph Francis Bandelier, which occurred at Seville on March 18th, has robbed the world of a most brilliant and versatile historian and anthropologist. In learning and critical ability he was head and shoulders above any man who has yet devoted himself to the study of Colonial Spain or of the native races and civilisation which it embraced. He has left an imperishable stamp on American anthropology, and has set a standard for scholarship and research which should be an inspiration to the younger generation now arising.

The life of Mr. Bandelier is in itself a romance set in a background of colonial pioneering and backwoods exploration.

He was born in Berne in 1840, the son of a Swiss gentleman of old nobility who held high office in the little Bernese Republic. In 1847 his father, disgusted with the overthrow of the old Conservative party in his native State, emigrated to America and settled in the little town of Highland, in Illinois. There Adolph Bandelier grew up in simple surroundings which might seem to give little promise for a student. But with an indomitable energy and thirst for learning he fought his way, and, like the young Schliemann, mastered every obstacle in the path of his scientific education. In boyhood his favourite study was natural history, a little later he turned to mineralogy, geology, and chemistry, then to meteorology, in which connection he published, after eleven years, an important series of studies of the *Aurora Borealis*.

In 1857 and again in 1867, he visited Europe, where he was well received in many circles and formed valuable connections for his scientific interests.

In 1873 Lewis H. Morgan, the famous anthropologist, made the acquaintance of Mr. Bandelier, and this was destined to be the turning point in the latter's career. Morgan awoke his interest in archaeology and ethnology, but the time had not yet come when Bandelier could take the field for practical work, and for several years he was obliged to be content with a book study of the history of Mexico and Spanish America.

During this time he published his two important monographs in the Reports of the Peabody Museum. These brought him into such prominence that in 1880 Morgan was able to offer him the command of a scientific expedition to work among the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. It was the beginning of a career of ceaseless exploration and literary activity which continued for thirty-four years.

From 1880 to 1890 his principal work was published by the Archaeological Institute of America, and a glance at the index of the Institute's reports and papers will show the range and extent of his studies during that time. He made journeys all over Mexico, New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, at a time when travelling meant real exploration among the savage tribes.

At the end of 1890 the Archaeological Institute was obliged to close its work, and Mr. Bandelier then turned his attention to a new field. He had long been interested in South America, and in 1892 Mr. Henry Villard sent him out to the west coast of

South America, where he continued his researches and explorations, chiefly in Peru and Bolivia. During the next twelve years, in addition to making archæological surveys over a wide field, he formed large ethnographical and archæological collections, which are now in the American Museum of Natural History at New York.

A picture of Bandelier's work at this time is given by Sir Martin Conway in his paper on the Bolivian Andes in the *Royal Geographical Journal* for July 1899, and a sketch of his life and activities was written by his intimate friend, Sir M. V. Ballivan for the *Oficina Nacional de Propaganda Geografica de La Paz* in the same year.

In 1904 Mr. Bandelier returned permanently to New York, where he lived for the next eight years, often in ill-health and with failing eyesight.

In 1912 he had recovered a considerable measure of health, and passed the winter in Mexico City collecting material for a history of New Mexico. It was to continue this work that the Carnegie Institution sent him last October to Spain, where he began what promised to be a long course of research in the Archives of Seville. That he should have been cut off in the midst of this important undertaking, while still in the fulness of his unsurpassed mental powers, is a misfortune for the world. We can only hope that his widow and devoted collaborator, Madame Bandelier, may be enabled to complete and put in order what he has left.

Of his voluminous writings in various languages it is not possible to give a complete bibliography, but the following is a list of his principal works in English:—

Reports of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass.: 1877, *On the Tenure of Lands and Customs with regard to Inheritance of the Ancient Mexicans*; 1879, *On the Social Organisation and Mode of Government of the Ancient Mexicans*.

New York Historical Society: 1885, *The Romantic School in American Archaeology*.

American Antiquarian Society: 1880, *Notes on the Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America*; 1912, *The Ruins at Tiahuanaco*.

Papers of the Archæological Institute of America: 1881, *Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico*; 1881, 1883, *Reports on the Ruins of the Valley of Pecos*; 1884, *Report on an Archæological Tour in Mexico*; 1890-92, *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the South-Western United States* (2 vols.); 1890, *Contributions to the History of the South-Western Portion of the United States*.

American Anthropologist: 1904-6, Various papers on Peruvian and Bolivian subjects.

The Delightmakers: New York, 1892. This is a remarkable anthropological work on the Pueblo Indians in the form of a novel. A new, illustrated edition is in preparation.

The Gilded Man: New York, 1893.

The Islands of Titicaca and Koati: New York, 1910.

Besides these should be mentioned various essays published by the Société de Géographie de Paris and the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin. Also—*Historia de la Villa del Paso del Norte en Mejico*, 1890; *Reseña de la Bibliografía Antigua de Mejico*, 1890; and an unpublished MS. in French of 1,400 folio pages illustrated by numerous drawings. This was his offering to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion of the Jubilee, and has been deposited in the Vatican library at Rome. The subject is the history of the Colonisation and of the Missions of New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua.

A certain amount of Mr. Bandelier's work in Bolivia and Peru has never yet been published.

He was a true man of science, fearless and sincere in criticism, tireless in construction, and singularly unaware withal of his own eminence.

D. R. MACIVER.

Fiji.

Hocart.

Masks in Fiji—A Correction. By A. M. Hocart.

85

In a paper on "Masks in Fiji" (MAN, XIV, 53, p. 118) I translated the Fijian word *vulo* by "spathe," which I was informed was the right botanical term. Mr. H. Baker, of the Botanical Gardens, Oxford, has very obligingly answered my inquiries on the subject, and states that the right term is *reticulum*.

A. M. HOCART.

REVIEWS.

Africa, West.

Talbot.

In the Shadow of the Bush. By P. Amoury Talbot, of the Nigerian Political Service. London: William Heinemann. 1912. With Illustrations, Figures in the Text, and a Map. Pp. 480. Price 18s.

86

Mr. Talbot has given us a most interesting account of the Ekoi, a Southern Nigerian people of Bantu stock, and, although he fears that "a certain inconsequence, "natural among the untrained minds of the Ekoi, will be found mirrored only too "faithfully in their story," the book is none the less valuable for that, and it is all the more true to life. The only fault to be found with it is that there is rather too much folklore.

The Ekoi are divided into two unequal parts by the boundary which separates the Kamerun from the east of Southern Nigeria (the term is retained because of its convenience), their land being most easily reached by way of the Kwa River—an affluent of the Cross—which the people call their own water. It is a sacred river, "and bold indeed would be that man or woman who should break an oath sworn "on its name. For somewhere in its depths dwells Nimm—the terrible—who is "always ready, at the call of her women worshippers, to send up her servants, the "beasts that flock down to drink and bathe in her stream, to destroy the farms "of those who have offended. Nimm is, above all, the object of the women's "devotion. She manifests herself sometimes as a huge snake, sometimes as a "crocodile. Her priestesses have more power than those of any other cult, and the "society which bears her name is strong enough to hold its own against the dreaded "Egbo Club' itself. . . . Everywhere in Ekoi mythology, the cult of the snake "is found to be closely connected with that of the crocodile. In many of the Egbo "houses a representation of the former is to be seen modelled in high relief on the "wall at the farther end, while the crocodile is usually found carved on the principal "pillar. Those families who are members of the cult of Nimm never drive a snake "from their houses, but take powdered chalk and strew before the visitor, very "softly, so as not to frighten it in any way. . . . It is probable that the "original reason for deifying snake and cat, i.e., that these creatures were the "principal scourges of the plague-carrying rat, lies at the back of the powerful "snake cult, while traces of cat worship are still to be found. Rats are a great "pest all over the land." It is just as likely, however, that the cult was and is phallic.

Ekoi society is honeycombed with secret "clubs," some of them centuries old, of which that of the Egbo, i.e., leopard, is the most powerful. Possibly, since "totemism is still an article of belief, though most of them will deny the existence "of any such idea, the leopard society originally consisted only of those who

"belonged to this totem. On account of the superior craft and power of the animal "it would naturally draw to itself the largest following," and later on outsiders would be admitted. There are seven grades, all open even to youths, if sufficiently rich, but the secrets are not unfolded until middle age has been reached. The author thinks that there is "a close resemblance between these secrets and the "Eleusinian and ancient Egyptian mysteries. Certainly a considerable amount of "hypnotism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism is taught, and only too many proofs have "been given that some of the powers of Nature are known and utilised by initiates, "in a way forgotten by or unknown to their white rulers. For instance, some of the "esoteric members seem to have the power of calling up shadow forms of absent "persons." Unfortunately the only evidence produced for this last statement is the account of one of the natives.

Of actual deities there are only two, the Sky God and the Earth God, but of the less powerful Genii of trees, lakes, rocks, and rivers there are countless hordes. There are many "Jujus," and to the efficacy of one of the lesser of them the author bears personal testimony. It is called "Leopard knocks its foot," and "before its "arrival leopards had been a scourge . . . One night . . . I awoke to find "a leopard snuffing round my mosquito net. . . . On returning to Oban after "absence on leave, a remarkable change was found. Since the installation of the "new Juju not a leopard showed itself within a mile of the houses." According to Mr. Talbot, the explanation is simple, for "it is possible that the strong smelling "pitch used to 'renew the power' of the Juju may offend the nostrils of the keen-scented beasts of prey and cause them to avoid the town." This reason, although at first sight inadequate, may be the correct one, for all jinn are offended by an evil odour.

The Ekoi believe that "every man has two souls, one which always animates "the human shape, and a bush soul, which at times is capable of being sent forth "to enter the form of the animal 'possessed'." An incident is worth noting in this connection. A chief, who used to project his soul into a buffalo, had been to call upon the Commissioner who had relieved the author, and had "returned home in "excellent health, and two days afterwards was sitting talking with several of his "people, when he suddenly struck his hand against his body and cried out, 'They "kill me at Oban'." An hour later a buffalo was found dead in the bush, it having been wounded two days previously by the Commissioner, and the cause of the death of the chief was evident to all.

The religion of the Ekoi is a mixture of old and new, imported and local, elements, as is only to be expected. "On every hand indications are to be found, "beneath modern corruptions and disfigurements, of a form of worship which carries "us back to the oldest known Minoan civilisation, and links the belief of the "present-day Ekoi with that of the ancient Phœnician, the Egyptian, the Roman, "and the Greek. In some ways, indeed, the Ekoi form may be termed the most "ancient of all." But space will not permit us to follow the author further here.

The book is a fascinating study, and Mr. Talbot is to be congratulated upon the large amount of material which he has collected, especially since most of it was obtained in his "spare time." The drawings and photographs are excellent.

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

Religion.

Upward.

The Divine Mystery. By Allen Upward. Letchworth: Garden City Press, 1913.

87

The secondary title, "A Reading of the History of Christianity down to the Time of Christ," explains the scope of this work. The author's wide learning is

evident on every page. He is fully master of his material, and the result is one of the most original and inspiring books which have appeared of late. In it the broadening trend of modern thought is clearly noticeable, since the book is one that could hardly have been printed a few years ago. Even now, many readers may be roused to deep opposition by some of the theories and facts therein put forward.

To the mind of the present reviewer, the part most indicative of the attitude of the author is to be found on p. 219: "Our best authorities for the history of Israel are the living Israelites of lands still in the Canaanite stage. For this reason I thought it an indispensable part of my preparation for the present work to study those living documents at first hand. A brief tenure of a Government post in the Niger Valley (1901-2), corresponding very closely with the one held by Pontius Pilate in Judea, furnished me with endless illustrations of the Pagan features in the Bible." Not only has he succeeded in his object, but, in the process of carrying it out, has thrown unexpected light on the source of many modern practices.

In any abstract of the work it is impossible to do justice either to its erudition, originality, or charm. As an example of its style, a few lines may perhaps be quoted from the introduction (p. xiv):—

"To the thoughtful mind all history is sacred, and the whole world is a holy land in which man walks as in a garden planted by the hand of his Creator. Mystery encompasses his steps on every side; a Divine voice breathes in the rustling of the trees at eventide and in the songs of birds at sunrise; he reads the nightly Scripture of the stars, and his heart accompanies the solemn chorus of the sea. There is a universe within him as without; the network of his frame is a battle-ground wherein unseen and uncalculated forces meet and struggle for the mastery; his very thoughts are not his own, but the re-incarnations of ancestral spirits, or else the angels of Heavenly and Hellish powers. So, moving from deep unto deep, he plays his part in some degree like a somnambulist, plays in a miracle play of which he feels himself to be the hero, yet cannot altogether seize the plot, nor tell what are the true surroundings of his little stage, nor guess what may await him when he shall pass behind the scenes."

The author traces the evolution of the "Divine Man" from the primæval wizard, "A being . . . wise, if not all-knowing, *tapu* himself and able to make other men and things *tapu*, incomprehensible—in a word divine," through various avatars, as Priest and King, up to his culmination as the Sacrificial Christ, the Saviour. Astronomy is laid under contribution to explain the connection between the various forms of worship until the beginning of the modern cycle of Zarathustrian Puritanism is reached—about 700 B.C. The echoes of this reverberated down the ages till the foundation of Christianity, an event, according to the author, considerably antecedent to the birth of Christ.

In the mention of the martyrdom of St. Dasius and the careful research into the custom of annual regicide, Mr. Upward supports Dr. Frazer's theory, obviously taking little account of the late Mr. Andrew Lang's criticisms on this subject.

The author's claim, that the chapters dealing with the evolution of monotheism may be found to bridge a real gap, is no idle one. For many, perhaps, this section will be found the most valuable in the book. It is no detraction from the gratitude, which all students must feel for so illuminating a work, to question whether quite sufficient weight has been allowed to the views of Professor Pinches that, to the initiated at least, a kind of monotheism existed in ancient Babylonia and Assyria.

There are many who will sympathise with Mr. Upward in his difficulty as to the treatment of such an important subject as the worship of the Generative Function. Students are increasingly turning their attention in this direction, however, and with

such able pioneers as Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., and other distinguished authors, the disabilities that loom so large in the path of investigators will surely be overcome in time.

As a keen, though humble, student of that wonderful treasure house of ancient lore, the united Nigerias, it can only be a matter of extreme regret to the reviewer that the career of an official so erudite and deep-seeing should have been cut short as far as West Africa is concerned.

P. AMAURY TALBOT.

Folk-lore.

Wright.

Rustic Speech and Folk-lore. By Elizabeth Mary Wright. Oxford. 1913.

88

In this excellent and comprehensive work Mrs. Wright has given us a storehouse of information on the words and sayings of the English countryside, illustrating their bearing upon popular beliefs and folk-lore. She has a thorough grasp of her subject, and has here brought together in one volume, in a way never attempted before, the dialect words of the whole country and the phrases in which they occur. In no case is a word or phrase quoted without its dialect being specified, and no better guide could be found by those who wish to obtain an acquaintance with these rich and racy forms of speech, luckily not yet extinct, although often threatened with destruction. Those who read only for entertainment or are not unwilling to mix entertainment with instruction, will find here an inexhaustible treasure of shrewdness and mother wit as well as of ancient faiths and modern heresies. The firm bond which unites folk-lore and dialect is nowhere better illustrated, and it is clearly brought out that many of the beliefs bound up in familiar expressions must perish or lose their vitality with the medium in which they have found expression.

The more purely philological part of the work is no doubt to some extent a compilation; that is to say, it brings together in convenient form a mass of information now only to be found scattered through innumerable publications. It is sufficient to refer to the chapters on survivals of archaic words and forms, on loan words, and on the evidence bearing on race-settlements, especially Scandinavian, as bearing on the question of Danish or Norse settlements. The conclusions derived from existing dialects will be found to coincide in the main with those based on place-names. The chapter on Phonology and Grammar is full and accurate, and is an excellent summary of the subject, while that on Popular Phrases and Sayings is a truly wonderful collection of popular lore and racy expression. It would be impossible to enumerate all the points of interest in this volume, and it must suffice to say that Mrs. Wright has throughout dealt worthily with her difficult and attractive subject.

M. LONGWORTH DAMES,

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Anthropology.

British Association.

Anthropology at the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Australian Meeting, August 1914. Report of Proceedings in Section H (Anthropology).

89

The Anthropological Section met under the Presidency of Sir Everard im Thurn, C.B., K.C.M.G., who in his presidential address took as his subject, "A Study of Primitive Character." The address is published in full in *Nature*, Vol. XCIV, p. 68.

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

Committee on the Teaching of Anthropology.—A report was handed in, including an account of the conference held in the hall of the Worshipful Company of Drapers

as reported in MAN, 1914, 35. It has not yet been found possible to place the findings of the conference before the Prime Minister.

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY.

PROFESSOR G. ELLIOT SMITH.—*The Ancient Inhabitants of Egypt and the Sudan.*—Dealt with new material concerning two groups of the earliest people, the most northern and most southern, yet discovered :—

(a) A series of protodynastic skeletons from various sources near Cairo.

(b) A series discovered by Dr. Reisner near Merowe.

(a) The evidence raises the possibility that even from a more remote period the people of the Delta may have been mingling with a foreign people not belonging to the Brown Race.

(b) Belongs to the Hyksos Period, when large numbers of Egyptians emigrated into the Sudan. The skeletons from the better tombs closely resemble typical Egyptians of the upper class, such as commonly occur in Upper Egypt from about the time of the VIth Dynasty on. But many of the others conform to the Proto-Egyptian and Middle Nubian (C Group) types. The majority bear indubitable evidence of some negro admixture, though to a slight degree.

PROFESSOR J. SYMINGTON.—*On the Relations of the Inner Surface of the Cranial Walls to the Brain, with special reference to the Reconstruction of the Brain from Cranial Casts.*—The result of a series of observations on the relations of the brain and skull, to ascertain the extent to which casts of the cranial cavity enable us to estimate the form of the brain, and especially the position of the cerebral fissures and the degree of development of the cerebral convolutions. Methods of making casts of various portions of the cavity were described, with due allowance for the membranes. Results showed that only the general form and size of the brain and the position of but few of its fissures and convolutions could be ascertained from the casts, and that the simplicity or complexity of the cerebral convolutions could not be inferred. These observations tend to throw grave doubts on the trustworthiness of certain statements with reference to the peculiarities of the Piltdown brain based upon casts of that cranium.

Committee to Investigate the Physical Characters of the Ancient Egyptians.—A detailed report was issued dealing with two distinct series of anthropological material :—(a) A series from Saqqara; (b) a series from the southern part of the Kerma basin in the Sudan.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND ETHNOLOGY.

DR. W. H. R. RIVERS.—*Is Australian Culture Simple or Complex?*—This question is of great theoretical importance. If this culture does not represent a stage in, or an offshoot from, a direct line of social development, but is the result of a fusion of a number of elements which reached Australia at long intervals, the first step towards any sound knowledge must be the analysis of this culture. If certain features of Australian culture are the result of influences from without, the foundations on which many recent speculations are based are swept away. It is only by comparison with neighbouring and allied cultures that the problem can be solved. The first question, therefore, is whether a culture allied to that of Australia exists in the neighbourhood, and there is no doubt that Melanesia possesses such a culture. Further, it is almost certain that the cultures which have reached Melanesia from without have come from the west, the centre of dispersion having been the Malay Archipelago, and it is evident that the same influences have reached Polynesia and Madagascar. Evidence was cited to show how it is impossible to presume that

Australia should have remained exempt from these influences. In this light the history and nature of Australian culture become far easier to understand. One difficulty which confronts this view is the apparently primitive character of the sea-faring vessels of the Australians, but there is definite evidence in Melanesia and Polynesia for the degeneration, and even loss, of so useful an object as the canoe. The complexity of Australian culture will only be established when the facts of Melanesian, Papuan, and Australian culture have been fitted into a scheme. In conclusion one cultural feature—burial customs—was discussed as an illustration of the kind of process by which this result might be attained.

MAJOR A. J. N. TREMEARNE.—*Bori Exorcism, Fortune-telling, and Invocation.*—A woman in Tunis had been ill for seven months, her body so lax that she could do nothing. After four and a half months she had given a franc to be wrapped in a handkerchief and hung in the Bori Temple as an offering to Kuri. She got a little better, and at the end of the seventh month gave a dance. Her illness was transferred to two fowls, which were then killed, and various Bori came and entered the dancers. The patient was so much benefited that she was able to dance herself by midnight, and was walking about next day. The ceremony was described in detail and various subsidiary points discussed.

MAJOR A. J. N. TREMEARNE.—*Some Hausa "Don'ts."*—A collection of popular tabus prevalent among the Hausa.

PROFESSOR G. ELLIOT SMITH.—*Early Racial Migrations and the Spread of Certain Customs.*—After dealing with the evidence from the resemblances in the physical characters of certain widely separated peoples, suggesting far-reaching migrations, the distribution of certain peculiarly distinctive practices, such as mummification and the building of megalithic monuments, was applied to confirm the reality of such wanderings. Attention was directed mainly to the question of the spread of cultures from the areas of ancient centres of civilizations along the Southern Asiatic coast, and thence out into the Pacific. Practices such as mummification and megalith-building present so many and distinctive features that no hypothesis of independent evolution can seriously be entertained in explanation of their geographical distribution. They must be regarded as evidence of the diffusion of information, and the migrations of bearers of it from somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Mediterranean step by step out into Polynesia, and even perhaps beyond the Pacific to the American littoral.

A. R. BROWN.—*Varieties of Totemism in Australia.*—For the purposes of this Paper totemism is defined as a special magico-religious relation between an individual or a social group, on the one hand, and a class of natural objects, generally a species of animal or plant, on the other.

Considering first of all the nature of the totemic group we can distinguish the following different kinds of totemism in Australia:—

(1) *Clan Totemism with Female Descent.*—The totemic group is a body of relatives who form a clan. Every child belongs to the same totemic group as his mother. This form of totemism is found in many tribes in the eastern part of Australia, such as the Kamilaroi.

(2) *Clan Totemism with Male Descent.*—The totemic group is a body of relatives. A child belongs to the same group as his father. This form of totemism seems to exist in widely scattered regions of Australia; for example, in the Kariara tribe of Western Australia, in some of the tribes of the Northern Territory, in the Narinyeri tribe of South Australia, and perhaps in some tribes of Victoria and the southern part of New South Wales.

(3) *Local Group Totemism*.—The totemic group is a body of persons living in the same place and collectively owning and occupying a definite portion of the tribal territory. The group is not a clan and is not exogamous. A child belongs to the same local and totemic group as his father. This form of totemism is found in the Burduna tribe of Western Australia, and in a number of neighbouring tribes.

(4) *Cult Society Totemism*.—The totemic group is a body of persons who are all qualified to take part in a certain cult. The best-known example of such totemism is that found in the Aranda tribe of Central Australia.

(5) *Totemism of the Dual Division*.—The tribe is divided into two parts or moieties, and each part is associated with some species of natural object, as eaglehawk and crow in some tribes.

(6) *Totemism of Relationship Divisions*.—The totemic groups are the four sections or the eight sub-sections into which the tribe is divided by the system of relationship. One variety of this form of totemism is found in the Pita-pita and other tribes of Western Queensland. Another variety is found in the Mungarai and Punaba and other tribes of the Northern Territory and Western Australia. A third variety is found in the tribes at the head of the Gascoyne and Ashburton Rivers in Western Australia.

(7) *Sex Totemism*.—The tribe is divided into two parts, males and females, all the males having a special relation to one species of bird or plant, while all the females have a similar relation to a different species.

(8) *Personal Totemism*.—The individual has a special and purely personal relation to some one or more species of natural objects. In the best-known form, that of the Yualai tribe of New South Wales, only medicine-men and women with special magical powers have personal totems.

Considering now the nature of the relation between the group or the person and its or his totem, we may distinguish three main kinds of totemism according as we find (1) a definite positive ritual associated with the totem, (2) a negative ritual, or (3) no organised ritual at all.

These and their varieties were discussed at length.

B. MALINOWSKI.—*A Fundamental Problem of Religious Sociology*.—Is there a sharp cleavage between religious and profane matters among primitive peoples? Or, in other words, is there a pronounced dualism in the social and mental life of the savage, or, on the contrary, do the religious and non-religious activities and ideas pass and shade into each other in a continuous manner?

Durkheim postulates the existence of a sharp cleavage between the two domains of the sacred and profane, and his entire theoretical construction stands or falls with this assumption. Marett is of opinion that, generally speaking, "The savage is very far from having any fairly definite system of ideas of a magico-religious kind, with a somewhat specialised department of conduct corresponding thereto." These examples show that the question, fundamental as it is, is still unsettled and controversial. What answer does it receive from the ethnographical evidence? Spencer and Gillen answer the question in the affirmative; yet Seligmann's monograph on the Veddas gives the impression that among this people there does not exist anything like radical bipartition of things and ideas into religious and profane. Probably the twofold division is not a fundamental feature of religion, suitable to be considered as its very distinctive characteristic. It is an accidental feature, dependent chiefly upon the social part played by religion, and connected with, possibly, some other factors, to determine the influence of which it is, however necessary to have more ample evidence, gathered with the problem in view.

A. S. KENYON and D. J. MAHONEY.—*The Stone Implements of the Australian Aborigines.*—(1) *Distribution*: Implements are found all over the land surface; mainly at "camps," but fortuitously more or less everywhere. Camps may be permanent, near unfailing water and reliable food-supply; or of a temporary nature. These differences are reflected in the implements found in them.

(2) *Period*: The whole of the implements under discussion are of recent age, and were fashioned by the race still existing.

(3) *Material*: The material used varies with requirements and accessibility, but for cutting implements it may be divided into two classes, brittle and hard stone, such as flints, quartzites, cherts, etc., and the tougher but softer diabasic, metamorphic and like rocks.

(4) *Type*: There is no doubt that the class of stone available governs the degree of finish and method of manipulation, with use and opportunity playing a secondary part. The various types were described in detail.

(5) *Classification*: The first requirement is a system capable of including all forms, from the most primitive colithic to a well-differentiated and -fashioned neolithic implement. No existing European or American system is applicable, as all postulate a relationship between the workmanship and the cultural stage of the artificer; this is not justified by Australian evidence. Consequently the classification adopted is that of Kenyon and Stirling (*R. Soc. Victoria*, XIII., n.s. 1901).

Committee for the Production of Certified Copies of Hausa MSS.—The report included a list of the institutions among which copies had been distributed.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

R. R. MARETT.—*Recent Excavation of a Palæolithic Cave in Jersey.*—Previous excavations had cleared the Mousterian floor along the west side of the cave; it was now resolved to continue the clearing across the mouth to the east side. Among the bones a preliminary survey revealed the presence of mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, Irish elk, reindeer, red deer, roe deer, wild ox, wild horse, wild goat, cave hyena, fox, arctic lemming, and a species of grouse, a thoroughly typical pleistocene fauna of the cold or tundra type. More than 3 cwt. of implements was discovered. As far as can be made out at present the Mousterian *facies* prevails throughout, though it remains to be seen whether it will be possible to differentiate in regard to style of workmanship the products of the various levels of the floor. Among the smaller implements a proportion appeared to be notched towards the base, as if they had once been provided with a handle or shaft. There was a great variety of hammer-stones, mostly of granite, and of split pebbles, mostly of diabase, some of which had been used as polishers. The occurrence of double patination upon certain implements shows that the occupation must have extended over an immense period of time.

ALEXANDER LOWE.—*The Short Cists of the North-east of Scotland.*—These are single interments found mostly without any overground structure to indicate their site. The cists are built of irregular flat stones set on edge and roofed by one large flat covering stone. There is no evidence of orientation. In those examined the burial was by inhumation. There is evidence to show that, while inhumation was the earlier practice, inhumation and incineration were partly contemporaneous. In one cist, calcined human bones were found along with a burial by inhumation.

There were associated with the interments clay urns, flint scrapers, and arrow heads, but no trace of metal. The urns were all of the "beaker" type except

in one instance, where it was of the "food-vessel" type. The series of skeletal remains gives evidence of a people somewhat under medium stature, well-built, and athletic, with very broad skulls, low, straight faces, and broadish noses. As to the affinities of these short cist builders, the characters of their skeletons are very similar to those of the broad-headed Alpine race which occupied Europe about the end of the Stone Age, and which is supposed to be descended from the Palæolithic broad-headed Grenille race. The ceramic finds in the interments support this view.

THOMAS ASHBY.—*The Roman Advance into South Italy.*—One of the greatest factors in the Roman conquest of Italy and of the Roman world was the excellence of the system of military roads which she constructed. The earliest beginnings of this system may be traced in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome itself, from which roads radiated in all directions. As the Roman power increased, the military highways were pushed forward, each important advance into hostile country being secured by the plantation of a Roman or Latin colony (i.e., the construction of a fortress, peopled by soldiers) and united by a road to the base. The study of the Roman road system is thus very important from an historical and a military point of view. An account was given in 1913 at the Birmingham meeting of researches along the Via Appia and the Via Traiana, and in continuance of it the remainder of the road system of South Italy is now described, as the result of actual exploration on the spot, the line of the ancient roads being traced and followed as far as possible—an enterprise not always by any means easy.

Committee on the Artificial Islands in the Lochs of the Highlands of Scotland.—The Committee handed in its fourth report.

Committee on the Lake Villages in the Neighbourhood of Glastonbury.—The Committee presented a report including a tabulated list of finds resulting from excavation.

Committee for the Exploration of the Palæolithic Site known as La Cotte de St. Brelade, Jersey.—The Committee presented a report in detail of excavations and their results.

Committee on the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Western Mediterranean.—The Committee handed in a report summarising the progress made.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THOMAS ASHBY.—*A Map of the Environs of Rome of 1547.*—The Vatican Library has, by a recent gift of His Holiness the Pope, come into possession of an important collection of maps and plans. This includes an engraved map of the environs of Rome for a distance of about twenty miles in each direction, on the scale of about 2 inches to the mile. It bears the date 1547, and is unsigned; but Mr. Horatio F. Browne has discovered the Venetian privilege for it, from which it appears that its author was a Florentine, Eufrosino della Volpaia. It is rather a bird's-eye view than a map, the projection not being accurate, but the details (roads, farms, streams, woods, cultivation, &c.) are very well shown; and it is the largest map of this district known until comparatively modern times. Though it is engraved on six copper plates, and served as the original of Ortelius' map, it has remained unknown until now, and the Vatican copy is unique. Dr. Ashby has written the text to the publication in facsimile made by the Vatican Library in a series which it is now issuing ("Le Pianta Maggiori di Roma dei secoli 16° e 17°").



FIG. 1.

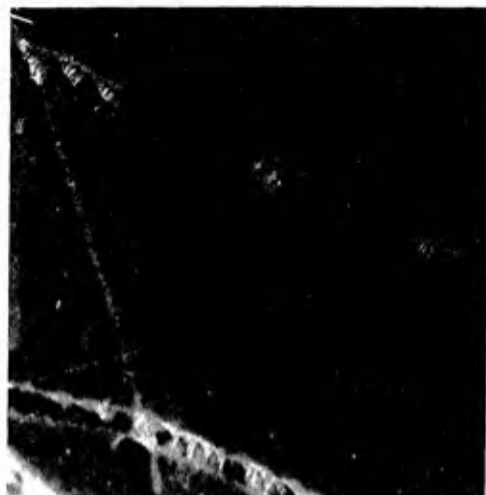


FIG. 2.

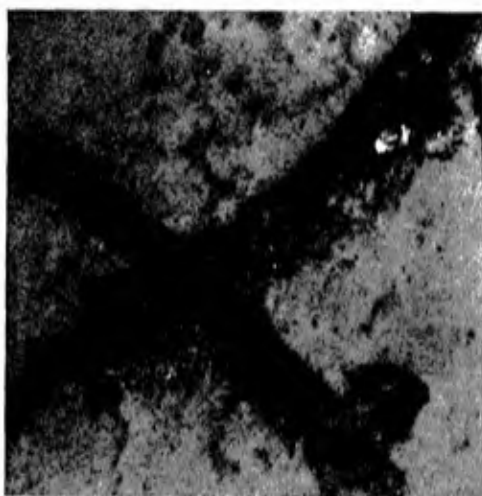


FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Archæology.

With Plate M.

Moir.

The Striation of Flint Surfaces. *By J. Reid Moir, F.G.S.*

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A great deal of prominence has been lately given to scratches upon the surface of broken flints by Dr. W. Allen Sturge, who, as is known, has in a most able manner called attention to the occurrence of these markings upon flint implements found in N.W. Suffolk, and presumably of the Neolithic period.* Dr. Sturge, having very carefully examined these striations, believes that they can only be accounted for by supposing at least six minor glaciations to have occurred during Neolithic times, and that consequently the advent of Neolithic Man must be looked for about 200,000 years ago.

In this paper I do not propose to enter into the difficult question as to whether scratches upon flints necessarily indicate a period of glaciation.

But having examined a large series of striated stones, and conducted various experiments in which the hardness of flint and other matters were investigated, I am anxious to put forward certain facts which have been ascertained, and which appear to me to have rather an important bearing upon the nature of the scratches which are developed upon the surfaces of flints.

I will first deal with the hardness of flint. It has been laid down as an axiom that flint is so hard that only something as hard or harder passing over it under great pressure can imprint a scratch upon its surface.

This is true, *but only true when applied to a freshly-broken, unchanged sound flint.*

When, however, a stone has been exposed to atmospheric conditions upon a land surface, it undergoes a process of "patination" or softening, and therefore is no longer in that highly resistant condition which is present in an unpatinated sound flint.

I have tested this in the following manner. Having broken a nodule of flint which showed a black unchanged interior, I first of all attempted to scratch it by drawing the sharp point of another piece of flint across its surface, but found that with the exertion of all my strength I was hardly able to mark it in any way. I then put some emery powder, mixed with oil, upon the surface of the stone and tried to scratch it by rubbing with all my force with another flint having a flat surface, but after two hours' work found I had only managed to produce a few very minute and negligible striæ.

I then turned my attention to flints from the surface of the fields, which exhibit various degrees of "patination," some being bluish black, others a light blue, and some a dense white, and found that with a sharp-pointed flint, and by using all my strength, I could just mark the bluish black specimens, while with the same amount of pressure it was possible to make a very obvious scratch upon the light blue examples.

The dense white flints were easily scratched, and I found that with much less pressure I could cut their surfaces deeply.

To my surprise I also found that with a hardened steel point I was able to produce scratches upon these various specimens.

These experiments showed me that while freshly-broken unchanged flint is extremely hard and difficult to scratch, yet this same material when exposed for a more or less lengthened period upon a land surface undergoes a process of softening, and is in consequence much more easily scratched.

* "The Chronology of the Stone Age," *Proc. East Anglian Prehist. Soc.*, W. A. Sturge, Vol. I, Part 1.

Having recognised these facts, and that the depth and nature of a scratch must largely depend upon the condition of hardness of the surface to be scratched, I concluded that a certain type of striation would be present upon a certain type of patinated surface, and this I found to be the case.

Dr. Sturge in dealing with this question of striated flints emphasizes this association of scratches and patina, and concludes that each different type of striation represents a distinct and separate glaciation ("The Chronology of the Stone Age," *East Anglian Prehistoric Soc.*, Vol. I, Part 1).

He also calls attention to the reworked stones in his collection, that is, those which have been flaked by one man and then left for a sufficiently long period on a land surface to be patinated, and afterwards were picked up by a much later man, whose work is naturally not so patinated as the original flaking.

Dr. Sturge shows how the striations on the older flaking differ from those imprinted upon the newer, and argues that two ice periods must be postulated to account for the two types of scratches.

I, on the contrary, would say that the difference in the scratches upon the older and newer flaking is due to the older patina being more deeply cut than the newer and harder surfaces.

But apart from this question of the softening of flint, owing to the "weathering" while exposed to atmospheric conditions, there is another very important factor governing the nature of scratches upon a surface, *and that is the variable hardness over small areas of that surface.*

An examination of a series of patinated flints from almost any horizon will show that many of them exhibit this unequal hardness, and it is often possible to see a large facet caused by a single blow, which has two or three small hard portions which have withstood the patinating process.

I would liken these portions to the cores of hard material which occur in wood, and in many cases they somewhat resemble them in appearance.

But there are other flints exhibiting unequal patination over one facet, and therefore, I hold, an unequal hardness of the surface. These flints, however, do not show any marked difference of texture in the patinated and unpatinated portions.

I have tested this variable hardness of flint by removing a flake from a stone, and having noted that the newly-broken surface of the flake exhibits to the naked eye a perfectly homogeneous texture, have subjected it to various solvents which have the effect of simulating patination.*

In some cases these solvents will reveal hard portions in the flint, which remain unaffected while the surrounding areas are altered.

Now suppose such a surface to be subjected to the pressure of a moving point, and it will be seen that if this point is moving from one side of the flake to the other it will come into contact with the softer patinated surface and produce a certain kind of scratch and of a certain depth.

Then if the track of the moving point passes over one of these harder portions the scratch must necessarily alter in appearance, and may disappear altogether.

After the resistant area is passed the scratch will again develop in size and depth, according to the hardness of the surface then met with.

I have found specimens which entirely bear out the truth of this hypothesis.

Flint is a most peculiar substance and one of which we know very little at present, and I am quite unable to explain why its mass should vary so much in hardness, but that it does so is nevertheless certain.

Thus a pressure and "scratching agent" which would produce a well-marked

* This effect can be obtained by the use of diluted hydrofluoric acid, and also by various alkalis when heated, such as carbonate of soda, &c.

striation upon one flint might hardly affect another stone of different hardness lying in close proximity, and I think that perhaps Dr. Sturge is hardly justified in concluding that the different scratches on his flints have been produced by dissimilar scratching materials.

In fact I do not consider it is at all necessary to imagine that these surface flints have been exposed to six or more different scratching agents operating at different and distinct periods.

Also, even supposing moving ice with stones in its grip to have been the cause of the striations upon these flints, it seems to me that the conditions of a land surface are such as to make it highly probable that all sorts of striations would be developed upon the flints lying on that land surface.

In connection with the question of the different sorts of scratches which appear upon flint surfaces, I may mention that a piece of ordinary bottle glass which I picked up from the surface of a ploughed field shows a great variety of scratches upon its surface.

There are little groups of parallel scratches, curved and straight lines also appear, and "chattering" scratches are well developed.

Thus while I do not wish to suggest that flint is as easily scratched as glass, yet we have unassailable evidence that various kinds of scratches can be imposed upon a piece of glass while lying upon the present land surface, and further we know that moving ice can have had nothing to do with the formation of such scratches.

The character and depth of any striations must in a great measure depend upon the hardness of the surface to be scratched, and broadly speaking, the hardest flints will show the shallowest scratches, and the less hard, deeper ones, and so on.

I now come to the second part of my paper, which deals with the "weathering out" of scratches upon flints.

When examining heavily striated stones such as occur at the base of the Red Crag and at other horizons, I had always had a difficulty in understanding how the stones stood, without breaking, the pressure to which they must have been subjected when such striations were being imposed.

This difficulty was increased when I found that thin flakes from the present surface exhibited well-marked striae, and as experiments had shown me that even large flints will break up under no very great pressure, I began to wonder whether it was possible that these scratches had altered since the flints were first subjected to the scratching process.

It occurred to me that if a point passed over a flint under pressure the area upon which the point impinged would be shattered, and that small plates or splinters of flint would be formed along the line of movement.

I also concluded that, as with the thin plates which are produced on a flint when flaking, and which are not found upon implements which have been exposed to atmospheric conditions, these fragments of flint would in time, by thermal effects, "weather out" and leave a clean-cut groove behind.

This was my theory, and I proceeded to examine a series of scratched flints in my collection to see if I could find any specimens to support my view.

This examination showed me that I had various specimens exhibiting scratches in different stages of "weathering."

Thus one black glossy flint given me by Mr. E. St. H. Lingwood, of Westleton, Suffolk, and found by him on a ploughed field at that place, showed a "shattered" scratch extending for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches across its surface.

To prove that such a scratch could easily be deepened, I attacked part of it with a steel probe, and found that I could easily remove the thin plates of flint which had been produced when the initial shattering took place.

I then took a pointed flint flake and cleared away the remaining splinters of flint in the groove I had made, and this specimen therefore now exhibits a scratch showing a shattered line over half its length, and the other half a deepish groove.

This question of the weathering out of scratches appears to me to be of some importance, because what we have regarded as deep striae caused by immense pressure are in all probability simply weathered-out shattered scratches, the initial stage of which would not require any very great pressure to produce.

I hold that every scratch imprinted upon a flint must have a shattered portion on the sides and floor of the scratch, and, further, that this shattered portion must, if exposed to thermal changes on a land surface, "weather out," and the scratch, in consequence, alter in depth and appearance until all the thin, shattered fragments are gone.

If a flint gets striated and then becomes covered by some impervious material such as clay, it will be protected from thermal changes, and no weathering out of the scratches takes place.

This seems to me to offer an explanation for the smallness of the striae on the flints from the Chalky Boulder Clay as compared with those developed on stones from below the Red Crag.

The latter were scratched and then exposed on the pre-Crag land surface, and consequently got weathered out, while those in the Boulder Clay have been protected by the nature of the material in which they lie, and many of them exhibit typical unweathered-out scratches.

Now it seems to me impossible to believe that any scratched flint could be subjected to thermal changes for more than 500 years without going through the process of weathering-out such as I have described. (As a matter of fact I think it would be a much shorter period, but I am anxious to be as liberal as possible in my estimate of the amount of time required.)

Therefore, when we find surface flints which exhibit these unweathered-out scratches, we may well ask ourselves when the markings were imposed upon them.

If, as I think seems reasonable, the thin plates of shattered flint would weather out in 500 years, then these particular stones, at any rate, must have been scratched since the fifteenth century, and as we know that this country has not been glaciated since that date, ice-action is accordingly put out of the question.

As I stated earlier in this paper, I do not wish at this stage of my researches to put forward any definite views as to the means by which these various stones have been striated, but with these facts before us, and bearing in mind that steel will scratch flints, I consider it needful to go forward very carefully in this matter, and to realise that while moving ice, with stones in its grip, has no doubt scratched some flints found in some deposits, yet certain others *found upon the surface of the ground* must owe their striae to some ordinary every-day occurrence—possibly connected with agricultural operations.

J. REID MOIR.

EXPLANATION OF PLATE.

MICRO-PHOTOGRAPHS (BY G. G. DAVEY, IPSWICH) OF SPECIMENS MENTIONED
IN THIS PAPER.

No. 1.—Surface of hard, slightly patinated flint scratched by steel. Notice the thin plates of flint, which weather out by thermal action, formed by the pressure of the moving point.

No. 2.—Surface of flint patinated more deeply than No. 1 scratched by steel. Notice the thin plates of flint along the lines where the pressure has acted.

No. 3.—Surface of flint patinated white and scratched by steel. Notice how deeply the steel has penetrated into this comparatively soft surface.

No. 4.—Surface of flint found on the surface of the ground at Westleton, Suffolk. Notice the thin plates of flint, as in No. 2, formed by the pressure of the moving point which at one time passed over it.

No. 5.—Surface of flint found on the surface of the ground, and showing typical "weathered-out" scratches. Notice the absence of any of the thin plates of flint as shown in Nos. 1, 2, and 4.

No. 6.—Surface of a piece of bottle glass found upon the surface of the ground at Ipswich. Notice the variety of scratches which have been imposed upon this specimen.

Physical Anthropology.

Read.

On the Differentiation of Man from the Anthropoids.* By

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Professor Carveth Read, M.A.

Section I.—The hypothesis put forward in the following paper has already been mentioned from time to time by one author and another, and by myself in *The Metaphysics of Nature*, c. xv, s. 3, and in *Natural and Social Morals*, c. vii, s. 2; but has never, I believe, been applied to the elucidation of all the chief features that distinguish man from his nearest zoological relatives. It seems worth while to attempt this task, and, as many of the considerations to be offered are self-evident, a very brief statement may suffice.

The differences between man and his nearest relatives are innumerable; but taking the chief of them, and assuming that the minor details are correlated with these, it is the hypothesis of the present paper that all of them, with one exception, may be traced to the influence of one variation operating amidst the original anthropoid conditions. That variation was the adoption of a flesh diet, and the habits of a hunter in order to obtain it. We need not suppose that the whole species varied in this way. It is enough that a few, or even one, should have done so, and that the variation was advantageous and was inherited.

That such a variation occurred at some time is plain, since man is everywhere more or less carnivorous; the earliest known men were hunters; the oldest known artefacts are weapons. And it is not improbable that the change began at the anthropoid level, because, although the extant anthropoids are mainly frugivorous, yet they occasionally eat birds' eggs and young birds, and the gibbon has been said to eat small mammals. Other Primates (macaques and baboons) sometimes eat insects, arachnids, crabs, worms, frogs, and lizards.

On the other hand, we need not suppose that our ancestors became exclusively carnivorous. A mixed diet is the rule even amongst hunting tribes, and the women everywhere collect and consume fruits and roots. But, if at first nearly omnivorous, our ancestor—it is assumed—soon preferred to attack mammals, and advanced at a remote date to the killing of the biggest game found in his habitat. Everywhere savage hunters do so now; the little Semang kills the tiger, rhinoceros, elephant, and buffalo; and, many thousands of years ago, men slew the reindeer and the mammoth, and, under more genial skies, the horse and the bison.

Such a variation from a fruit-eating to a hunting life must have been very useful by opening new supplies of food. The new pursuit would engross most of the animal's attention and co-ordinate all his faculties, and to support and reinforce it, his structure may reasonably be supposed to have undergone extensive modification by natural selection, because those individuals that were at any point best adapted to the new life had an advantage, which was inherited and gradually intensified.

* This paper was read at the meeting of the British Association in Birmingham, September 1913, in Section H.

Section 2.—Dividing the characters that distinguish man from the anthropoids into (A) those of habit and function, and (B) those of structure, it will be convenient to begin with the former (A):—

(1) The carnivorous habit explains the adaptation of our species to a ground-life and to a world-wide diffusion. For this can have happened only to an ape that found its food chiefly on the ground, and was no longer dependent on the fruits and highly nutritious vegetable products of the tropical forests. And this would be possible only to one that had either become carnivorous or else had taken to a coarser diet of roots and herbage, such as suffices the ungulates. That our species ever adopted the latter alternative there is not the slightest evidence. Had it done so our alimentary canal would probably have lengthened. And such a change of habit would throw no light upon anything else in our history.

(2) That the earliest known men were hunters, and that the oldest known artefacts are weapons, agrees with our hypothesis. Any other hypothesis must explain how they came to be so.

(3) Man alone of the higher Primates is social and co-operative. The gibbon, indeed, may be called social, but hardly co-operative. Baboons seem to go furthest in co-operation. The most backward men are most co-operative in hunting, war, and tribal ceremonies.

That the large anthropoids are not gregarious and co-operative follows from the want of any object for co-operation. Man found this object in the chase. Spencer, indeed, says that a large carnivore capable of killing its own prey profits by being solitary. When man, however, first pursued game, especially big game (not being by ancient adaptation, in instinct and structure, a carnivore), he may have been, and probably was, incapable of killing his prey single-handed; and, if so, he would profit by being both social and co-operative in hunting, like the wolves and dogs, a sort of wolf-ape. The pack was a means of increasing the supply of food; and gregariousness increased by selection. Hence in character man is more like the dog than he is like any other animal.

It cannot, indeed, be supposed that man began by attacking big game without weapons; and it would be absurd to suppose that he first invented weapons, and then attacked his prey. That is psychologically impossible. But if he began with small game, learned slowly to make feeble weapons and snares for dealing with them, and later attacked larger game and improved his weapons, co-operation must have been useful at every step.

(4) Man has lost the restraint of seasonal marriage (common to the gorilla and orang with other animals, as determined by food supply, and other conditions of infantile welfare); though according to Westermarck, traces of it survive in a few tribes. That our domestic carnivores have also lost this restraint, points, probably, to some condition of a steadier food-supply as determining, or permitting, such a change in ourselves.

The growth of prudence, however, and a habit of laying up stores, does not explain the steadier supply of food, because many savages have no prudence and no stores. Prudence is a separate instinct, not a function of intelligence.

On the whole, the change may be attributed (a) to an omnivorous habit being more steadily supplied than one exclusively herbivorous or carnivorous; (b) to our ancestors having wandered, in pursuit of game, from country to country, in which the seasons varied; so that the original correspondence of birth-time and abundant food (with other conditions of welfare) was thrown out. But there may also have been causes that kept down the normal numbers of the pack, so as to be equivalent to an increased supply of food, in scarce seasons. The hunter's great change of life, whilst securing a fuller normal supply of food involved many destructive incidents.

And this (by the way) would be favourable to rapid selection and adaptation; although, if the destruction had been great enough to counter-balance the advantage of animal food, it must have frustrated the whole experiment.

(5) Articulate speech may confidently be traced to social co-operation; since, had family life been sufficient for its development, the chimpanzee and gorilla should have talked; or if social life merely, the gibbon; for he, the most social, is also the most vocal of the anthropoids. But co-operation in what? Industry is later than hunting; and, apparently, even the industry of making primitive weapons is not at first co-operative. In hunting, then? In hunting, and in planning the hunt, articulate speech is plainly useful; and it is better than gesture (which probably preceded it), because it can go on whilst the hands and whole body are otherwise employed, and when comrades cannot see one another. It is only, of course, the beginnings of articulate speech that may be traced to co-operative hunting, not the subsequent development; but the beginning is the chief difficulty. The situation was particularly favourable to the beginning of language by onomatopœa, imitating the noises of animals and of the weapons and actions employed in pursuing and slaying them.

(6) Wrought weapons and snares are obviously the products of a hunter. War, indeed, calls for weapons; but is it not reasonable to suppose that the first wars were waged for the possession of hunting grounds? Wrought weapons imply the use of tools, and the development of the constructive instinct.

(7) The production of fire by the flaking of flints or by the rubbing of sticks together may easily have been discovered in the making of weapons. Sparks produced in the flaking of flints, where there were chips and dust from the making of spears, or merely dry leaves about, are very likely to have lit fires again and again; or in the polishing of a spear or arrow with another piece of wood fire may often have been produced by friction. And such things must have happened many times before man could learn (a) the connection of events, (b) the uses of fire, (c) purposely to produce it, (d) how to control it. The second and fourth of these acquisitions are much more difficult than the mere making of fire, and are all important. But a million years is a moderate estimate of the time at his disposal for the task of learning them.

Either by chipping flints or by polishing spears it is far easier, and a more probable way, to acquire the art of making fire than by observing the friction of dried boughs that sometimes catch fire, *because these processes include the very actions which the art employs*. Volcanoes have been pointed to as a possible source of fire, and in the myth Demeter is said to have lit torches at the crater of Etna, but such a method is fit for a goddess. Fire at first must have excited terror. Until uses were known for fire and how to control it, no one could have begun by getting it from a volcano (supposing it possible), nor by imitating the friction of boughs. It seems necessary to suppose a series of accidents at each step, in order to show the effects of fire in hardening wood, cooking game, and so forth.

(8) As to the intelligence and extensive knowledge (compared with anthropoids) which distinguish Man in his lowest known condition, it is not enough to say that it needs more intelligence to catch a rabbit than to pluck a banana, for a dog can catch a rabbit, though less intelligent than a gorilla.

Man started from the high anthropoid level. His olfactory sense had decayed; he could not track like a dog, and had never been adapted to hunting; but depending upon sight and hearing, he had to learn by observation all, and more than all, that the carnivore knows instinctively, or by following its mother, and this he added to the (no doubt) considerable knowledge of country that the anthropoid possesses.

He must have learned to discriminate all sorts of animals; their reactions to himself, manner of flight, attack, or defence; the spoor of each and its noises; its habits and haunts, where it reposed or went to drink, where to set snares or lie in wait for it. He must have adapted his weapons to his prey, must have learnt the best wood or stone for making weapons, the best materials for snares, and where to find them. He must have fixed in his mind this series—game, weapons, the making of them, materials, where found; and must have learned to attend to the items of the series in the necessary order without impatience or confusion, a task far beyond the power of any other animal.

Add to this the hunter's knowledge of locality always extending, with the beginnings of articulate speech, and the superiority of the lowest savage over an anthropoid in knowledge and intelligence is sufficiently explained.

Section 3.—Turning to structural differences (B):—

(1) The changes involved in the erect gait (imperfectly attained by the gibbon), as the normal mode of progression—namely, the modification of the vertebral column, the balancing of the head upon a relatively slender neck, changes in the joints, bones, and muscles of the legs, the lengthening of the legs and the specialisation of the foot, in which the heel is developed more than in the gorilla and the great toe lies parallel with the other toes—all changes in these directions will have been preserved and accumulated by natural selection, if the most successful hunters were those who followed their prey on the ground and, at last, afoot.

We may suppose that at first prey was sometimes attacked by leaping upon it from the branch of a tree, as leopards sometimes do; but the less our ancestor trusted to trees, the better for him in his new career.

(2) The specialization of the legs and feet, as it proceeded, made possible the specialization of the hands (Darwin: *Descent of Man*, c. 2). The development of the hands may be referred to the using and making of weapons. Those who had the best hands were selected, because they made the best weapons and used them best.

(3) The reduction of the arms in length and massiveness may be explained by—

- (a) Physiological compensation for the growth of the legs;
- (b) Mechanical compensation by the use of weapons;
- (c) Lessening of the weight of the body, and the improving of the balance and agility of a runner.

(4) The shortening of the muzzle and the reduction of the massiveness of the jaws and teeth also followed upon the use of weapons. (*Descent of Man*, c. 2.)

(5) The skull became less thick and rough, because—

- (a) As the hands, using weapons, superseded the teeth in fighting, jaws and neck grew less massive and no longer needed such solid attachments (*Descent of Man*, c. 2); and
- (b) Because the head was less liable to injury when no longer used as the chief organ in combat.

At the same time the skull increased in capacity, to make room for the brains of an animal that acquired much knowledge (parietal association area), and lived by the application of its knowledge to the co-ordination of its very complex activities (anterior association area), including language (Broca's convolution).

The development of the brain was elucidated by Professor Elliot Smith in his deeply-instructive address to this Section last year. It is the indispensable condition of human progress, and is, indeed, the fact itself (physically considered) rather than the cause of it.

(6) As to the alimentary canal, anthropologists whom I have consulted agree that, in consequence of the adoption by man of a flesh diet, we should expect it

to be shorter in man than in the anthropoids, but there is not much evidence adducible. Topinard, giving a proportionate estimate, says that in man it is about six times the length of the body, in the gibbon about eight times. Dr. A. Keith, in a private communication with which he has kindly favoured me, says that "the adult chimpanzee's intestine is slightly longer than adult man's," but that the measurements are, for certain reasons, unsatisfactory. Moreover, there have not been enough measurements of adult chimpanzees.

We must remember, too, that probably man has been at no time exclusively carnivorous, and that in many countries, since the introduction of agriculture (comparatively recent) he has returned to vegetarianism.

(7) There is one characteristic difference of man from the anthropoids of which the carnivorous habit of man affords no satisfactory explanation—his relatively naked skin. It might be suggested that, on leaving the tropical forest and penetrating into colder regions, he began to cover himself with the skins of his prey, and lost his own fur, and that those of the species who subsequently returned to the tropics discarded their clothes, and underwent a further adaptation in colour to the conditions of heat and moisture. But these are suppositions, and objections to them are obvious. Darwin's hypothesis of sexual selection, as explaining this matter, still seems to be the best we have.

(8) The extraordinary variability of man in stature, shape of skull, size and power of brain, colour, &c., both in races and in individuals, may be referred—

- (a) To his having been adapted to various conditions whilst wandering over the world in quest of game. Hence the differentiation of races.
- (b) To his having been nowhere determinately adapted (as we see most species of animals), because of his frequent resumption of wandering, and the recency of his whole specialisation. Hence the differences amongst individuals.
- (c) To the intermarriage of races; whence the difficulty of satisfactorily classifying them at the present day.
- (d) As to the brain especially—to the advantage of variability to every pack or tribe, in providing leaders, first in the chase and later in war. A good democrat may think it would have been a better plan to make all men equal from the first. But the pack could not have held together in the early days of gregariousness if all had been equal, and each had exercised the right of private judgment. So one led and the rest followed, as they still do.

Section 4.—Beyond these considerations lie many others concerning the moral and political development of human societies. Cannibalism, for example, supposing it to have been once a general practice, prior to its special manifestations under magical and religious ideas, may have been merely an extension of the practice of eating game to include the slain members of hostile hordes; for as primitive man no doubt regarded other animals as upon the same level with himself, so he will have regarded human enemies as on the same footing with the animals. That true carnivores are not generally cannibals may be put down to their more ancient and complete adaptation to a predatory life. For them cannibalism would be too destructive, and for us it belongs to the experimental stage of development, but we are still too capable of cruelty. Again, early Art, Magic, and Religion owe much to the savage's intense interest in animals. Many of our games, our sports, and even serious pursuits, as of money, and even of scientific truth, and the plots of fiction, are full of the interest of the chase. But to treat of these matters and other consequences in politics and morals it would be necessary to introduce many premises besides the two relied on in this paper, that we are descended from an anthropoid,

and that we are beasts of prey. Every advance in culture makes society more complex, and obscures the influence of any one cause.

Let me draw attention once more to the simplicity of the hypothesis. It is admitted that man's ancestor was a large anthropoid—possibly more gregarious than other large anthropoids, possibly more apt to live upon the ground, but neither of these suppositions is required. He was adapted to his life as the gorilla and chimpanzee are to theirs, in which they have probably gone on with little change for ages. But with him a disturbing impulse arose (which, knowing no better, we call an accidental variation),* namely, a special appetite for animal food. Not the whole species need have felt this impulse; it is enough that a few should have done so, or even one. If advantageous and inheritable, it would spread through his descendants. There *was* an advantage (1) in extending the supply of food, (2) in enabling them to leave the tropical forest, and (3) to escape the competition of other Primates. On the other hand, it brought them into competition with the true carnivora. Against them, as well as against game, they had hands and intelligence capable of making and using weapons; and the necessity of contending with the carnivores must have given advantage to structures, activities, and types of character that were also useful in dealing with the biggest game. Struggle intensified the process of selection. They combined and co-operated, and learnt to direct co-operation by some rudimentary speech.

Here nothing is assumed, except the special appetite for flesh; other anthropoids go a good deal upon the ground; they have hands and feet; they sometimes take animal food; they, or other Primates, sometimes use unwrought weapons; most Primates are more or less gregarious, and (especially baboons) are co-operative at least in defence; and since wolves co-operate in hunting this cannot be impossible for anthropoids; the Primates, and many other animals, use gestures and inarticulate vocal signs. Few hypotheses ask us to grant less than this one.

Finally, if this hypothesis is not true, man is an exception to the rule of animal life, that the structure of every organism is made up of apparatus subserving its peculiar conditions of nutrition and reproduction. The latter need not be considered here, as the reproductive apparatus is the same in the anthropoids and ourselves. With many species, indeed, to avoid being eaten, and to mate, are the reasons for some secondary characters, such as protective armour or colouration, fleetness with its correlative structures, nuptial plumage, &c. But to avoid being eaten, or to mate, it is first of all necessary to live and eat, and accordingly for each sort of animal, its structure and activities (except in relation to offspring), starting from the organisation of some earlier stock, are determined in almost every modification by the kind of food it gets and the conditions of getting it; in our case a flesh diet, obtained by hunting game afoot.

CARVETH READ.

REVIEWS.

Religion.

Frazer.

Adonis, Osiris: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. 3rd edition, revised and enlarged, 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1914. 92

The third edition of these volumes, which form Part IV. of *The Golden*

* Mr. G. A. Garfitt has suggested to me that a cause of the variation may perhaps be found, if we suppose that our anthropoid ancestor lived on the northern limits of the tropical forest, and that he took to animal food when a fall of temperature began to affect his habitat and decreased the supply of suitable vegetable food. The more southerly anthropoids did not suffer from this change, and so remained as we see them. It is known that a large anthropoid (*Dryopithecus*) inhabited Central Europe in the Miocene; there may have been others, and during that period the climate changed from sub-tropical to temperate, with corresponding alterations of fauna and flora.

Bough, has been published since that of the final part. The revisions and enlargements have approximately doubled its original size. But they have not materially altered the author's views of any of the great personages of Oriental mythology with whom he is here concerned.

The minute and careful examination that the rites and mythology of these three divinities, and the local environment and the history (as far as we know it) of the peoples who worshipped them, receive at the hands of the author, combine to make this one of the most interesting divisions of his monumental work. He has lavished, moreover, all his eloquence and learning in describing the scenes of their tragic stories. On the whole his view of their origin must commend itself to the dispassionate reader. All three of them seem to have been personifications of the annual decay and revival of vegetable life with the winter and spring, and specifically of the processes of agriculture. The analogies between vegetable and animal life, so widely if not universally drawn by mankind, would naturally extend the significance of the god and his festival to the latter. In Egypt, in particular, we know that the resurrection of Osiris was regarded as a pledge of the life after death of his worshippers. Professor Frazer conjectures with much probability that the great festival at Sais was in honour of the dead at large—was, in fact, a festival of All Souls, “when the ghosts of the dead swarmed in the streets and “ revisited their old homes, which were lit up to welcome them back again.”

But with regard to Osiris, in the new edition he goes a step further, and argues that Osiris may have been once a real living man who had been apotheosized, though he forbears to give a decided opinion. It is a point on which a wholesome scepticism may be indulged. The worship of the dead is very widespread. But wherever we have been able to verify its objects, it is the recently dead alone who are really worshipped; the older dead sink gradually out of memory, and their places are taken by those whose living power has impressed the witnesses of their deeds. I have argued elsewhere that the evidence that Kibuka, the war god of the Baganda, was a man, is far from satisfactory, in spite of the fact that personal relics said to be his are preserved and now in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge. I see no reason for withdrawing that opinion, nor for holding that Nyakang, the legendary founder of the dynasty of Shilluk kings, ever lived in human form. If Osiris was a man, why not also Attis and Adonis? If the ceremonies of Attis and Adonis have been developed out of a vaguer periodic ritual, if their mythical forms have been gradually condensed from a pre-existing nebulous rite, according to the rule of which Professor Frazer himself has been so distinguished and successful an exponent, or if, as he here suggests, their pathetic figures have sprung from the meditations of Oriental sages, why not that of Osiris also? In his case the practices with reference to sprouting grain beyond all reasonable doubt identify him with the corn. That the tomb of the early King Khent at Abydos was held in “later ages” to be Khent of Osiris is by itself of very small weight. What we must know to make it of value is why it was so held. The “later ages” which identified the tomb as that of Osiris may have had no reason that sound criticism would hold valid. They may even have known nothing more of King Khent than we do. They may simply have affixed the name of Osiris to the tomb as being the oldest royal tomb they could find. The mere fact of their euhemerism is in any case no justification for ours.

The exposition of Osiris has been much elaborated in the new edition, and occupies, with incidental discourses and other matters, the whole of the second volume. Such digressions, always a feature of *The Golden Bough*, demand a leisurely reading of the other work; but they are greatly to the profit of the attentive reader, by bringing varied facts together for comparison, even though apparently

remote from the main subject. That the student who accepts Dr. Frazer's general position will invariably find himself in agreement with him on the issues raised, or that he will be left without queries now and again, is, of course, not to be expected. Science is progressive, and it progresses by both research and discussion.

One of these digressions is the interesting chapter on "Volcanic Religions." Though it leads to a negative conclusion, in so far as regards a connection between the Asiatic custom of burning kings or gods and the volcanic phenomena of the region, it can by no means be considered useless. And we heartily agree that "the whole subject of the influence which physical environment has exercised on the history of religion deserves to be studied with more attention than it has yet received." But it must be considered together with, and not apart from, the entire culture of which religion is only one aspect.

Another such digression is on the influence of the system of mother-kin on religion. While a trace of the mistaken theories of Bachofen (who rendered great service in first calling attention to the question of the position of women in early culture) lingers in the common but careless use of the word matriarchy to describe the system of descent through women only, it was well for Dr. Frazer to lend the weight of his authority to emphasize the fact that mother-kin by no means implies mother-rule. I am doubtful, however, of the general proposition that "men make gods and women worship them." Emotion took fully as large a part in the creation of gods as reason, and women share emotion on at least equal terms with men. The influence of women in elevating the Virgin Mary to the position she holds in the religion of half Christendom can hardly be questioned. Whether mother-kin be favourable to the growth of mother-goddesses or not is "a pretty quarrel as it stands" between Dr. Frazer and Dr. Farnell, which it would be desirable to see fought out. It is true at any rate "that in primitive communities the social relations of the gods commonly reflect the social relations of their worshippers." Dr. Frazer illustrates the statement by saying, "Thus the union of Osiris with his sister Isis was not a freak of the story-teller's fancy; it reflected a social custom which was itself based on practical considerations of the most solid kind," namely, "a wish to keep the property in the family." Before we conclude that this was the real reason for such unions we must know how far down in Egyptian society the custom penetrated. We are told it would "be a mistake to treat these marriages as a relic of savagery." Does not the story of the marriage of Isis with Osiris go back to primitive times? If so, can the practice of sister-marriage for the purpose of keeping the family property in the hands of the brothers be traced to the same early period? Mother-right (or mother-kin, as it is here called) knew other and quite as effective means for this purpose, without resorting to what we call incest. And did Zeus wed Hera for the purpose of keeping the property in the family?

On these and various other questions we have our doubts. But they are subsidiary; they cannot hinder us from recognising afresh the importance of the contribution made in the work before us to the history of religion. After eight years' reflection since the original edition was published, on the contrary, we must reaffirm it. In the whole series of *The Golden Bough* these volumes will take their place as assuredly not the least valuable.

As I write, the news comes of the honour conferred by the State upon the eminent author. Never was honour more richly deserved, or conferred more honour on the State itself by its acceptance. Our cordial congratulations to Sir James Frazer are reinforced by the satisfaction that at last anthropology is coming to hold her due place in national regard—a place that his works have done so much during the last five-and twenty years to secure.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

Africa, South.

Ellenberger.

History of the Basuto, Ancient and Modern. Compiled by D. Fred. Ellenberger, V.D.M., and written in English by J. C. Macgregor, Assistant-Commissioner, under the auspices of the Basuto Government. London, 1912: Caxton Publishing Company. 93

Mr. Macgregor, who has already done meritorious work in collecting Basuto traditions, has earned a further measure of gratitude by making M. Ellenberger's French notes available for a wider public than they would otherwise have reached. Collected during a period of forty-five years, and relating, in many cases, to matters now beyond the reach of inquiry, their value can hardly be over-estimated. We could wish that M. Ellenberger had, in some cases, shown a more critical spirit, and it may be doubted whether his theory that the "painter Bushmen" are identical with the "Canaanitish Horim" will find a ready acceptance. It may be remembered that, in Miss Lloyd's opinion, even G. W. Stow (whom M. Ellenberger cites as his authority for the two races of Bushmen) went too far in assuming the "carvers" and "painters" to be distinct branches of the tribe, the adoption of one art or the other being determined by the kind of surfaces available. Hence the fact on which M. Ellenberger lays so much stress (pp. 4, 5)—the absence of Bushman paintings north of the Zambezi—certainly does not prove that the painters arrived by sea. He considers that they are the descendants of the "ancient Canaanites of Hor . . . subjugated and partially exterminated by Esau," some of whom "went towards the Persian Gulf, others to the shore of the Red Sea, while others again travelled westwards and crossed the Nile." These last were the "carvers," while the Persian Gulf contingent were carried to Zimbabwe by the Phœnicians and put to labour in the mines. For all this, as well as for the statements that the Horim were the Troglodytes of the Greeks, and that the Beja are descended from them, no authority is cited except F. de Rougemont's *Peuple Primitif*. M. Ellenberger says the Bushmen have a tradition "which says they crossed the waters in a great basket, presumably a ship." One would like to know more about this tradition. Is it certain that "crossing the water" is involved? One of the Zulu clans connects its origin with a basket, but this one travelled by land.

There appears to be some confusion in the account of the Mantis on p. 8. This insect is certainly not poisonous, and the name *N'go* does not belong to it, but to the larva of a beetle, from which the famous arrow-poison is prepared. For the cult of the Mantis, see Miss Lloyd's *Bushman Folk-Lore*. It is very curious that most, if not all, Bantu names for the Mantis are descriptive (e.g., Zulu *intwalambiza*, Ganda *olu-kokola*—sometimes, like *vundajungu*, *chiswambia*, *nakatobanongo*, referring to a wide-spread superstition connected with it), suggesting that the original name is taboo, and that the name and some recollection of a cult may have been derived from the Bushmen.

But the main subject of the book are the tribes who may be comprehensively called Chwana, including the Bantu, Barolong, Bahurutse, Bataung, and others, and the tables in the Appendix are invaluable for showing their relation to each other. "The History of Sebetsoane" (pp. 304-330) is important as supplementing, partly from old information, Livingstone's account of that famous chief. The "Notes on Religion, Laws, and Customs," &c. (pp. 237-304), though in part drawn from sources already accessible, contain many interesting items, a number of which are new to us. See, especially, the account (pp. 253-255), of a rain-making custom involving the stealing of the queen's porridge-stick by the women. One of the songs in use on these occasions is an invocation to Mohlomi, the Healer and Peace-maker, the Kuena chief who died in 1815. (His history is given, pp. 90-98.) Pp. 298-302 contain a selection of proverbs and enigmas, and a version of the tale of "Kammapa and

Litaolane" (Casalis), here called "Kholumolumo and Litaolane," where the whole human race is swallowed by a monster, except one woman, whose son killed the destroyer and brought the people back to life.

M. Ellenberger suggests in his Introduction (p. xxi) that the root *ntu*, *tho* (in *umu-ntu*, *mo-tho*) means "speech," a suggestion which it appears had already been made by M. Arhousset. It is certainly curious that the verb *tu-la*, *tho-la* (in Nyanja reduplicated, *tontola*), which exists in many Bantu languages with the meaning "be silent," should consist of this root and a "reversive" ending. If he is right, *umu-ntu* would be "the speaker"— $\mu\epsilon\phi\psi$. But in that case what are we to make of *chi-ntu*, *ki-tu* = "thing," unless, indeed, these are late formations by analogy?

A. WERNER.

Religion.

Frazer.

Bulder the Beautiful: The Fire-Festivals of Europe and the Doctrine of the External Soul. By J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. Two vols. **94**
London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1913. 8vo. Pp. xx+346, xi+389.

With these two volumes the third edition of *The Golden Bough* has been brought to a close. The two volumes of the first edition have been expanded, by the accumulation of fresh material and the consideration of new questions, to ten. It has been inevitable that the discussions of more than twenty years have necessitated fuller exposition of the author's theories, and have to some extent modified them. Anthropological science is not where it was in 1890. Like any other science, and perhaps to a greater extent than most, it has progressed. Progress has meant leaving behind many old points of view, overturning many old conclusions, reducing to lumber many hypotheses that once looked sound. Dr. Frazer himself is conscious of this, and refers in the Preface to some of the changes in his own position. He states that he holds all his theories very lightly, and has used them chiefly as convenient pegs on which to hang his collections of facts. Perhaps it is not without reference to this alteration involved in scientific progress that he seems to take a final leave of the task of many years.

In the course of the work he has presented a picture of, and subjected to discussion, almost the whole primitive calendar of Europe. Previous volumes have, among other things, treated of the agricultural ceremonies, the Saturnalia, and the Expulsion of Evils. There only remained the Fire-Festivals, and these have been considered in the volumes before us. They are celebrated chiefly at Beltane and All Hallows, at Midsummer Day and Christmas. On their explanation he has changed his mind since the last edition was published. Then he thought them a magical process to aid the sun. Converted by Dr. Westermarck's arguments, he now holds them to be for the purpose of purification from evils and protection against witches and evil spirits. Assuredly the kindling of fires in the autumn did not fit in very well with the former theory. But in presenting, in the candid manner which is habitual with him, the arguments on both sides, he has omitted to answer that which looked the strongest in favour of the sun-magic theory, and which was founded on the seasons—midsummer and midwinter—when the chief fire-festivals were held. It may be suggested that these times were looked upon as specially uncanny. At them the year seems to pause; nature for a few days appears at a standstill; agricultural and pastoral operations are suspended. Humanity at such times has leisure for other activities, notably for the social activities of recreation and religious rites. Now the season of religious or magico-religious rites is always uncanny. It is a season of taboo. The sense of supernatural presences is acute; and some of them must be conciliated, some must be banned. Society is, therefore, occupied with hustling the latter away and uniting itself afresh with the former. This applies

equally to the pause after the operations of harvest and before the more active preparations for the winter, such as the storage of animal food (which used to be the preoccupation of our ancestors in November) and of fuel. It is a preliminary also to the labours of the spring. When the cattle are taken from their stalls in opening summer and driven to their upland shielings, they must be sained. They must be rid of the influences of the winter and rendered fit for their new environment. The fields must be cleared of evil things; both they and the growing crops must be hallowed.

Religion being a social activity, the season of the performance of these rites is also the occasion of the social activity of recreation. Religious and magico-religious rites have, perhaps, always had their play-side. The connection of religion and recreation has hardly yet received enough attention from anthropologists. Yet dances and bodily exercise in all the lower stages of civilisation are common accompaniments of religious rites, if it be not more correct to say they are an integral part of them. The emotion called forth by the social reunion has one of its forms of expression in the excesses of the Saturnalia. The sense of deliverance from evils and of the renewed covenant with protecting powers reacts in wild excitement. Leaping through the smoke of a bonfire and hurling fiery discs, whatever other meaning they may have had, would be among its most harmless manifestations.

I have put these considerations, I am aware, in a very summary and imperfect form; but it will serve to indicate the line of argument that seems necessary to complete the answer to the solar theory of the fire-festivals now abandoned by Dr. Frazer. How far the fiery discs and the fire-wheel or fire-churn may be connected in the peasant mind, or in the mind of his ancestors, with the sun, is another question; but it is probable that any such association is secondary. And it must not be forgotten, in any case, that the peasant's ideas, as well as those of the man of the lower culture outside Europe, are, in general, vaguer on the object and meaning of his rites than we are always ready to assume. Custom and an undefined notion that their observance is needful for well-being are often reasons amply sufficient in his mind. This not only renders the task of explanation more difficult, but it points to the strong probability that the rites originated and took shape gradually, insensibly, and without any exact, predetermined motive.

The doctrine of the External Soul forms the main theme of the second volume. Though already familiar to anthropologists from Mr. Edward Clodd and, especially, Dr. Frazer's previous researches, it has received here fresh illustration. Whatever may be the meaning of the widespread rite of simulated death and resurrection, there does not seem to be any real and convincing evidence that it had to do with the transfer of soul. Still less is it clear that the transfer of soul was an essential part of totemism, whether as origin or as product. Professor Frazer has in fact explicitly abandoned this theory, once propounded as an explanation of totemism. Having abandoned it, it hardly appears worth while to have reproduced the argument and even expanded the list of illustrations, interesting though the latter are. If he thought it desirable on their own account to preserve them, which I am not disposed to contest, would it not have been better to remove them to an appendix? The reason after all for the array of facts presented in the text is the chain of argument they are designed to support. If the argument be admitted to be unsound, the facts remain only as so many disconnected phenomena still awaiting the discovery of their mutual relations. They are beads that have dropped off a broken string.

Good use has been made of the light thrown on the relation between the Thunder-god and the oak by Dr. Warde Fowler's researches. But it seems to me that there is still a link wanting to explain the Balder myth. It may be true that

the mistletoe was regarded as the soul of the oak. If so, to tear off the mistletoe should have been sufficient to cause Balder's death, assuming that Balder was the oak. What has been overlooked is that he had to be struck with the mistletoe. In some of the *märchen* an egg must be broken on the ogre's forehead to cause his death. In these cases the egg was his life. But the story of Balder does not suggest this. All things are sworn not to hurt him, save only the mistletoe, which seemed too feeble to require the precaution. With that very weapon, however, he was slain. The analogy of the African stories cited in an appendix may perhaps be taken as supplying a hint. May they not all have grown out of the truism that very small and unsuspected occurrences often lead to great disasters, that a man's life may be brought to an end by a very trivial accident, that the weak things of the world are often chosen to confound the mighty? This must have been noted over and over again in human history, and it is illustrated in many other cycles of tales. Professor Frazer, if I understand him aright, abandons in the end the mythological explanation in favour of the euhemeristic hypothesis that Balder was a real man, basing his reasons on the African analogues. Here, I think, he goes beyond the evidence. The African analogues may be enough to discredit an explanation which would extend no further than the European fire festivals. But they cannot prove that Balder and the African heroes were no more than mere men. A tale founded on common, or even occasional and exceptional accidents of life, or on superstitions not confined (as few superstitions are) to one people or one locality, cannot be held to prove that its hero was a real man. Rather it points to the contrary conclusion.

On the whole, we heartily congratulate the distinguished author on the completion of his great task. If we are tempted to leave the book with a sense of disappointment arising from his change of attitude to many of the problems he has discussed, to do so would be by no means justified. True, the problems referred to are left, after all the years of investigation, still unsolved. In any case *The Golden Bough* will remain a monument of learning, wide and almost boundless, concerning human vagaries of thought and practice, and a storehouse of facts for future students. But the problems which these vagaries put before us are wider still. We are grateful for a courageous effort to solve them. No ordinary student could have made it. We shall prize the result, if even it be not wholly successful. It will be at least a valuable—nay, an indispensable—aid for future investigation. With it as a starting-point we must go on in the true spirit of science, hopefully, unweariedly, determinedly, to the achievement of the quest.

Finally, a few miscellaneous notes. It may be a satisfaction to those who are interested in the preservation of relics of old customs to know that the Salisbury giant referred to on p. 37 of the second volume is still in existence in the county museum, unless it has disappeared since I saw it there twenty years ago. I have found the superstition forbidding women at certain times to pickle meat (i, 84, 96 note) still rife in the Forest of Dean. Sir Arthur Evans contributed to *Macmillan's Magazine* for January 1881 a minute and graphic account of his experiences at the village of Knezlatz, in the canton of Crivoscia, in the Black Mountain, whither he went to investigate the Christmas customs among the Slav population there. Students who wish to pursue the subject may refer for valuable material to that article and the two published in the succeeding months of February and March. The mistletoe is by no means rare on the aspen-poplar around Gloucester, whatever, according to one of the authorities cited by Dr. Frazer, it may be elsewhere.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

NIGERIAN STROLLING PLAYERS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Africa, West.

With Plate N.

Tremearne.

Nigerian Strolling Players. By Major A. J. N. Tremearne, M.A., LL.M. 95

The photographs accompanying this article were taken by Dr. W. A. Trumper, at Geidam, Bornu Province, Northern Nigeria. The performers spoke Hausa fluently and were supposed to be Hausa, but there is not sufficient evidence to enable one to say definitely to which tribe they belonged.

There were three distinct "turns" in the performance. In Fig. 1 will be seen a man with a mask, and clothed in a dress of patches and charms, probably the West African representative of the *Bu Sadiya* seen in the northern countries of the continent.* The object of this masking is said to be merely the collection of money and the frightening of children; the people deny that there is any religious significance in it, although it was originated by a marabout from Egypt.

The same may be said of the exhibition of the hyena. Sometimes there may be several of these animals, and, usually, the tamer is clothed in a costume resembling that of the masked man here, except for the fact that he does not wear a mask.† I have seen at Tangier a Bambara from Timbaktu dressed in a similar manner.

In Figs. 3 and 4 may be seen a *gurbi* in course of erection, much resembling the "altars" used in some parts during the bori dances, and in the last photograph a puppet has been set up. This is raised gradually by the performer by means of jointed sticks, and is made to go through various movements supposed to represent the actions of a European, the man working it making comic remarks in a falsetto voice. The drummers keep up a continuous beating, and may reply to the remarks. The performance is comparable to, although not identical with, the *Dubbo Dubbo* described in a former article.‡

A. J. N. TREMEARNE.

Fiji.

Hocart.

More about Tauvu. By A. M. Hocart. 96

In a paper on "The Fijian Custom of *Tauvu*"§ we concluded that the relation of *tauvu* is cross-cousinship between two tribes or clans. We saw that the natives commonly define it as "*kalou vata*" (ghosts together) and we translated this "with common ancestors," not "with common gods," as most Europeans do. We inferred that the cross-cousinship of tribes and clans was originally intertwined with ghost or ancestor worship.||

Thanks to the generous assistance of Exeter College, Oxford, I was able to follow up this line of inquiry in Vanna Levu, which island, we found reason to suppose, was the original home of this institution in Fiji.¶ There is little to add to the previous account, but that little is, I think, most important, and proves abundantly the religious nature of the tie between *tauvu* and *tauvu*.

The tribe of Dhakaundrove dwells partly on the mainland of Vanna Levu, partly on Taveuni. They are *tauvu* to Moala in the Moala group, and to Namuka on the north coast of Vanna Levu. Nauluvula, one of their old men, told me that if one of his people went either to Namuka or Moala he would present a whale's tooth to the chief, saying, "Here is the kava I present to the chief." The chief accepts it and prays over it. After that the stranger may pull up kava plants and

* See *The Ban of the Bori*, pp. 240, 241.

† See *Some Austral-African Notes and Anecdotes*, p. 158

‡ See MAN, 1910, 85.

§ *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, XLII., p. 101.

|| *Loc. cit.*, p. 107.

¶ *Loc. cit.*, p. 108.

kill pigs. If the inhabitants see him do so they know he has presented a kava to the chief. If any man reproaches him for killing their pigs that man will die, because the visitor has presented a kava and the *tevoro* (= *kalou*) has seized it, that is why the *tevoro* is *mana*.* On the other hand, if the kava has not been presented the visitor may not touch anything. "What often makes us ill is that no presentation has been made. *Tauvu*-ship is exceedingly *mana* amongst us."

Etonia, of the same tribe, also declares that the *tevoro* would kill a man who seized property without previously offering kava in the shape of a whale's tooth.

Namuka is *tauvu* to Mbau as well as to Dhakaundrove. If the Mbauans came to Namuka, although they were the noblest state in Fiji they could not fly a flag,† but came and made an offering to the "Two Mbi" (*Ko i rau na Mbi*) *kalou* of Namuka. In the same way, if the Namukans went to Mbau they kept quiet until they had presented first-fruits (*isevusevu*) with the prayer, "Let us live, let us not die." Then all respect (*vakarokoroko*) was at an end and they killed fowls and pigs.

The two tribes therefore recognise each other's *kalou*, and this explains the persistent assertion that they have the same *kalou*.

The reader will notice that though a whale's tooth is presented it is called "kava." Evidently kava was once the right and proper offering. Now Vanua Levu is also the home of kava chants, if not of the whole Fijian kava ceremonial. In a chant sung over the kava at the installation of the chief of Korodhau, in the tribe of Dhakaundrove, there occurs a line: "Namuka is a foolish country." This insulting of the *tauvu* is an important feature of *tauvu*-ship, as we have seen; indeed, some tribes will tell you they are *tauvu* to such and such a tribe because their ancestors insulted each other. It is more than a mere licence, it is almost a duty. In Korodhau we find it as a rite.‡

We may suppose that the kava presented by the visitor was chewed and brewed with the accompaniment of the kava chant, and that this chant contained an insult to the *tauvu*, which ritually inaugurated the licence of speech and action which is part of the *tauvu*-ship.

I do not think anything more is to be got out of Fiji. The neighbouring Polynesian islands do not know this institution, though they have customs connected with the sister's son. For further clues we must look to the lands to the west of Fiji.

A. M. HOCART.

India, South.

Richards.

Cross Cousin Marriage in South India. By F. J. Richards.

97

In most of the castes of South India the most suitable bride for a boy is considered to be his maternal uncle's daughter. His paternal aunt's daughter is next in favour, and in some castes he has a preferential right to marry the daughter of his sister.§ So strong is this custom that, in some castes, if the parents of a

* To be effective, have power (of spirits and chiefs). It contains no idea of a mystic power or effluence.

† A subject tribe could not fly a flag on their canoe when approaching the village of their overlords or superiors.

‡ The only other people I have visited who sing at kava are the Futunans. They have a quite modern chant which runs:

"Uvea (Wallis Is.) has a lazy disposition,
A disposition like a *tomonio* (spirit, ghost)."

Futuna and Wallis intermarry but are not *tauvu*. I can only explain this song as a retainiscent of *tauvu*, or as Fijian influence, of which there is much in Futuna.

§ e.g., "It's a binding custom among Korachers that the first two daughters of a woman must be given to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons."—*Ethnographic Survey of Mysore*, VII, p. 7.

girl whose hand can thus be claimed marry her to a man other than the relative who has this right of first refusal, they will be excommunicated from caste. A girl who is thus married by virtue of her relationship to her husband is called an "urimai girl," while one chosen to enhance her husband's position or wealth is called a "perumai (dignity) girl.* The rule, which is common among both Tamils and Telugus, is known to the latter as *mēnārīkam*.

In the *Bāramahāl Records* (Section III., p. 38), compiled in Salem District, at the end of the eighteenth century, and printed by the Government of Madras in 1907, the following account is given of *mēnārīkam* as practised by the Kōmati Vaisyas :—

"If a sister has a son and her brother has a daughter, it is an invariable rule for the brother to give his daughter in marriage to his sister's son, and, let the girl be handsome or ugly, the sister's son must marry her.

"If a brother have two sisters, and the sisters have each a son, and he himself should have two daughters, he is obliged to give one of the daughters in marriage to each of his sisters' sons.

"However, if a brother should have three or more daughters, and his sisters should have a plurality of sons, the brother is only obliged to give one of his daughters to each of the eldest of his sister's sons, and he may dispose of the rest of his daughters as he pleases, and so in like manner may the sisters dispose of their younger sons.

"If the brother's daughter be blind, lame, or deformed, his sister's son must take her in marriage, but, on the contrary, if the sister's son should happen to be blind, lame, or in any shape deformed, the brother is not obliged to give his daughter in marriage to him.

"But if the sister should have a daughter and a brother a son, the sister is not obliged to give her daughter to her nephew, but may give her to whom she pleases."

The degree of rigour with which this rule is enforced varies in different castes, and sometimes it is a mere matter of form to offer the fortunate uncle or cousin the first refusal. Its rigorous application among the Kōmatis suggests that the practice of Cross Cousin Marriage in South India should be explained on economic grounds. The Kōmatis are the wealthiest caste of traders and money-lenders in South India. They claim to be true "twice-born" Vaisyas, and they imitate Brahmanic practice with extreme punctiliousness. Money-lenders, however, are seldom popular, and the zeal of the Kōmatis in pursuit of money is proverbial. Can it be that the rigidity with which they adhere to Cross Cousin Marriage is based on the mercenary interests?

Now there is abundant evidence that inheritance through females was at one time general throughout South India. It would seem that a matrilineal system of inheritance was a feature of the sub-culture of the south, on which the Brahmanic super-culture was imposed. Brahmanic culture, of course, lays vital emphasis on inheritance through males.

Assuming that inheritance through females preceded inheritance through males in South India, it is probable that the transition from one to the other was gradual, not sudden.

Under a system of inheritance through females a man has no interest whatever in finding out who his father is. When, however, the idea of paternity begins to take shape, perhaps under the influence of a superior culture, the father begins to take a paternal interest in his child. He naturally wishes to provide for the child's future, but under a matrilineal system this is impossible.

* See Mr. F. R. Hemingway's *Gazetteer of Trichinopoly District*, p. 94.

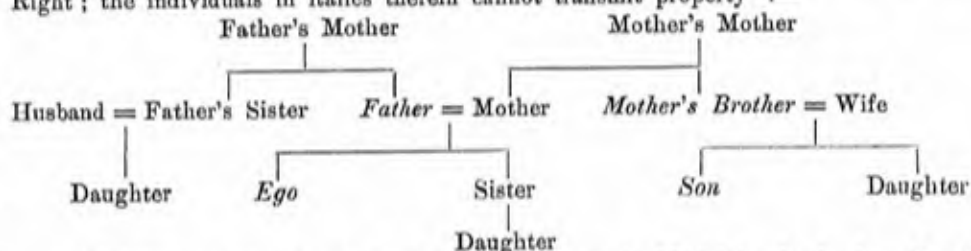
Now under Mother Right I inherit my mother's property, but I cannot transmit the heritage to my children, for my sister and her children are my heirs. If, therefore, I wish to transmit the property I enjoy to my children, I must marry my sister's daughter.

Similarly, my father is heir to his mother, but he cannot transmit the wealth he enjoys in his own right to me, for his sister and his sister's children are his heirs. If, therefore, he wishes to provide for me out of the ancestral property, he must marry me to his sister's daughter.

So also my mother's brother cannot transmit his property to his son, for my mother and her children are his heirs. His only way out of the difficulty is to marry his son to my sister.

Under a matrilineal system in its most archaic form the actual management of property vests in females. (See J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, 1901, p. 683.) But in course of time the eldest male member of the family came to be recognised as manager. As manager of a family, by this time "patriarchal" in all its ideas except those of inheritance, my mother's brother would find that a marriage between me (his heir) and his daughter (his wife's heir) would be the most convenient method of keeping the family property intact and providing for us both.

The subjoined diagram illustrates the difficulties of succession under Mother Right; the individuals in italics therein cannot transmit property* :—



The foregoing hypothesis was formulated by me in 1909,† in the backwoods of South India, in complete ignorance of all that had already been written on the subject,‡ and it was with no small surprise that I came across a precisely similar explanation of Cross Cousin Marriage as it exists in an entirely different branch of the human race. Writing of the Carrier division of the Western Déné (Athapascan) Indians of North America,§ Mr. C. Hill-Tout thus describes the advantages of marrying a boy to his maternal uncle's daughter :—

"Though descent was counted exclusively on the mother's side among these tribes, the authority of the father was recognized to a considerable extent; for he had a voice in the disposal of his daughters in marriage, and frequently so arranged matters that his legal inheritor and successor—his sister's son—should marry one or more of his daughters. This was done that his offspring might share in his property, and not be wholly deprived under the clan rule of his possessions, as under their laws no hereditary property or rights could be alienated or passed over to the members of another clan even though the recipients were the donor's own children.

* It is significant that in Tamil one word (*māman*) does duty for (1) wife's father, (2) maternal uncle, (3) paternal aunt's husband; and one word (*machinan*) for (1) brother-in-law, (2) maternal uncle's son, (3) paternal aunt's son; while the feminine form of the latter word (*machini*) stands for (1) sister-in-law, (2) wife's younger sister, (3) younger brother's wife, (4) maternal uncle's daughter, and (5) paternal aunt's daughter. Cf. Dr. Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 483 sq.; and L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1957, p. 447 sq.

† *Journ. of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, October 1909, p. 40.

‡ E.g., Dr. Rivers, in *Jras*, 1907, pp. 611-40, and Mr. A. E. Crawley, in the *Tylor Festschrift*, 1907.

§ *The Natives of British North America*, 1907, p. 145.

These laws and regulations were very strictly observed among the Carriers, and hence the practice of marrying the girl to her first cousin on her father's side."

There are several other customs prevalent in South India which seem to corroborate the "economic" explanation of *mēnārikam*.

1. Marriage of an adult woman to an immature boy. This practice, as observed among the Malaiyālis of the Kolli-malais of Salem District, is thus described by Mr. H. Lefanu* :—

"The sons, when mere children, are married to mature females, and the father-in-law of the bride assumes the performance of the procreative function, thus assuring for himself and his son a descendant to take them out of *Put*.† When the putative father comes of age, and in their turn his wife's male offspring are married, he performs for them the same office which his father did for him."

This practice is not confined to the Malaiyālis, for it is recorded of several of the Tamil castes of the Plains, all of whom, like the Malaiyālis themselves, observe patrilineal succession. The existence of this practice is emphatically denied at the present day by most of the castes of whom it is recorded, and it is probable that it will yield before long (if it has not already done so) to the pressure of a more enlightened public opinion, and vanish. But that it existed within the last half century over a large area and among widely different communities is certain.

Now, in the first place it must be noted that this practice, whenever it occurs, is invariably associated with Cross Cousin Marriage, though comparatively few of the *mēnārikam*-observing castes carry their principles to such extreme lengths.

In the second place, fatherhood, in communities where the practice prevails, is as purely a legal fiction as it is under the Brahmanic system of Adoption, and in both cases the fictitious sonship conveys strong economic interests.

Mr. Hill-Tout again furnishes a striking analogy to this practice in his account of the matrilineal Western Nahane section of the Déné Indians‡ :—

"A father often married his son to his own sister, that is, to the boy's aunt, without taking into account the disparity of their ages, for she may be fifty and he but fifteen. There was a special object in this ; it permitted the father to pass over, through his sister, his own property and belongings to his own son, which under the matrilineal rule could not be otherwise done ; a man's own children not inheriting any of his property because they did not belong to his clan."

2. Among the Malaiyālis a woman is free to leave her husband and live with her paramour, but any children she bears to her paramour are regarded as the children of her lawful husband, who can claim them as his own, and who is responsible for their maintenance. This practice finds a close parallel in the customs of the Todas, recorded on p. 546 of Dr. Rivers' classic work on that interesting people. The leniency with which such concubinage is treated is strongly polyandric in tone, and is suggestive of Nāyar *sambandams*, but Nāyars observe matrilineal succession, while Malaiyālis and Todas are definitely patrilineal. It is not easy to explain the interest of a husband in his wife's illicit progeny, except on economic grounds.

3. Another practice not uncommon among the Telugus and Kanarese is that of "affiliating a son-in-law," commonly known as *illātam*. Failing male issue, a father is at liberty to marry his daughter to a man who agrees to become a member of the family, and who thereafter resides in the father-in-law's house and inherits the estate for his children.

4. The practice of dedicating the eldest daughter as a *Basavi* (dancing girl),

* In his *Salem District Manual*.

† *Putra* (son) = *Put* (hell) and *ra* (save); "one who saves from hell"; a choice freak of Sanscrit philosophy.

‡ *The Natives of British North America*, p. 182.

about which so much has been written, is perhaps intended to serve a similar purpose, for a *Basavi* is entitled to inherit her father's property as a son, and to transmit it to her offspring.

I do not claim to have solved the problem of Cross Cousin Marriage in all its manifestations. I am fully aware that my economic hypothesis is not novel. I submit, however, that the evidence recited suggests:

- (1) That, in South India, economic considerations and, in particular, the transmission of "family property,"* exercise a very material influence on marriage relationships;
- (2) That the growth of "paternal feeling" is inconsistent with and inimical to the continuance of matrilineal succession;
- (3) That the intrusion of a strongly patrilineal culture, such as the Brahmanic culture undoubtedly is, into a matrilineal sub-culture would tend to subvert the economic foundations of society by the disruption of "family property";
- (4) That in a matrilineal community one of the main advantages of patrilineal transmission of property, viz., the gratification of the natural desire of a father to provide for his offspring, may be effectively secured by insisting that a man should marry the daughter of either his maternal uncle, his paternal aunt, or his sister; and
- (5) That the same rule would enable a matrilineal community to conform to a patrilineal system of inheritance without fear of dissipating the family property, the integrity of which is dependent on the continuance of inheritance on matrilineal lines.

In other words, the rule which gives a man the first refusal of his sister's, his maternal uncle's, or his paternal aunt's daughter in marriage may be interpreted as a sort of compromise between matrilineal succession and Brahmanic law; it preserves inviolate the principles of matrilineal inheritance under patrilineal forms.

F. J. RICHARDS.

Biography.

The Life and Work of N. N. Miklukho-Maklay. By M. A.

Czaplička.

Czaplička.

98

The year 1913 being the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Nicholas, son of Nicholas Miklukho-Maklay, one of the most thorough and indefatigable of the scientific travellers of his day, Mr. N. A. Yanchuk, of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography of Moscow University, undertook the task of presenting a fairly full account of his life and work in a pamphlet† recently published in St. Petersburg. As most of the areas visited by him are under British rule, and as hitherto more of his work has been published in French, German, and English than in Russian, it will undoubtedly be of great value to English scientific workers of the present day to be acquainted with the information thus given to the public.

Miklukho-Maklay was of Little Russian nationality, son of a Cossack,‡ and born in 1846, in the government of Novgorod. He was educated in Petersburg, studying law at the University, but before he had completed his course he went to Germany,

* It would be incorrect to speak of "clan property" in South India, as the Brahmanic practice of Partition almost everywhere has broken up the clan (= exogamous group) into numberless joint families, and the joint family is now the economic unit.

† "Nikholai Nikholaievich Miklukho-Maklay and his Scientific Work," by N. Y. Yanchuk. St. Petersburg, 1913 (in Russian).

‡ This does not refer to Cossack regiments of the present day, but to the original free and independent military community of Cossacks.

where in Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Jena he studied philosophy, medicine, and natural science. The great interest which he took in museums inspired him with the idea of studying the exhibits in their natural surroundings.

In 1866, being only twenty years of age, he took part in the scientific expedition conducted by his Professor, the illustrious Haeckel, to the Canary and Madeira Islands and to Morocco. The following year he himself undertook an expedition to the coast of the Red Sea, where he carried on investigations for about eighteen months. In 1869 he presented to Petersburg University the outlines of an expedition which aimed at anthropological as well as zoological investigation, and which he thought would occupy eight years. It actually took up twelve years from the time when, in 1871, he started in the "Vityas" for the Pacific. He arrived in New Guinea in the autumn, having visited other places on his way, and being one of the first Europeans to carry on research work in that region. Here the ship left him with two companions, they having first agreed with the Captain as to a hiding-place for the results of their work in case of necessity; and, indeed, the initial hostility of the natives made it seem likely that the necessity would arise, though afterwards they became very friendly towards him. He spent sixteen months on the north-east coast of New Guinea (called after him, Maklay Coast) and in the neighbouring islands, being the first European to visit them. In 1872 the Russian ship, "Isumrud," went in search of him and conveyed him to Java, where he stayed for three months, studying the Malays there. In Batavia he published some essays in Dutch about the Papuans of New Guinea, and about some Malay and Australian tribes.

In 1874 he undertook a second expedition to New Guinea, choosing this time the south-west coast known as Papua Koviak. The natives of this district were extremely hostile; they killed his servants, took away his scientific instruments, medicines, and provisions, and altogether made a protracted stay impossible. The chief was arrested, but in spite of this Maklay found it wiser to leave at the end of two months, and journeyed, *viâ* the islands of Amboina, Menado, and Macassar to Java.

The results of these two months' work were published in German and English. In 1875 he made investigations in Malacca, and in 1876 undertook a third expedition to New Guinea, this time better equipped. He visited the Papuans of the north coast, who received him very well, and among whom he spent a profitable and pleasant two years. His medical knowledge was especially appreciated by the natives. In 1878 he again went to Batavia and Singapore and thence passed over to the Australian Continent for a longer period. Starting from Sydney in 1879, he visited the islands of New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Solomon, Admiralty, and Hermit, and published the information there gained in English, German, and Russian. On his return he undertook to oppose the slave trade, to the bad effects of which he could testify, with the support of the Dutch and English Governments.

During the next few years his efforts were directed towards political issues, for he was anxious that a Russian Protectorate should be established in the Pacific. He had an audience with the Czar and was accorded some assistance, but through the tardiness of the Russian Government and his bad health, nothing substantial resulted. His last few years in Australia are remarkable for two events: Owing to his efforts a biological station was established at Watson Bay, near Sydney,* and he married Miss Robertson, the daughter of the Premier of New South Wales.

In 1887 he returned to Russia to settle there, and to publish in Russian the complete results of his travels, but he died in the following year, having prepared only the first volume, and during the twenty-five years which have since elapsed no successful effort has been made to render available to the scientific world the valuable

* As far as can be ascertained, this station is no longer in existence.

information obtained by him. His collection of MSS. still lies untouched and almost unremembered, awaiting the hand of a sympathetic and scientific editor, at a moment when the knowledge it contains might prove of the highest possible value.

The importance for social psychology of Maklay's work is well shown in a letter written to him by Leo Tolstoi, in which, among other things, the latter observes: "I cannot estimate the contribution which your collection and discoveries will make to the science you serve, but I know that your experiences during your close association with primitive men will be epoch-making in the science which I serve —that is, the science of how man should live among his fellow-men."

The most difficult part of Mr. Yanchuk's work must have been the record of the different essays of Maklay in foreign languages, and, although he admits that it is not complete, students owe him a large debt of gratitude for bringing to their notice such a wide and varied collection. In the following list of the English, French, German, and Dutch essays I have adhered to the chronological order of Mr. Yanchuk, trusting that ere long the Russian essays will form part of the complete published work of Miklukho-Maklay:—

1866-1870:

1. "Übere in Scwimmbblasenrudiment bei Selachiern" (*Jenaische Zeitschrift*, 1867, iii., pp. 448-453).
2. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Spongien" (*op. cit.*, 1868, iv, pp. 221-240).
3. "Beitrag zur vergleichenden Anatomie des Gehirnes" (*op. cit.*, iv, pp. 553-569).
4. "Über das Gehirn der Chimära monstrosa" (*op. cit.*, 1870, v, p. 132).
5. "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Neurologie der Wirbelthiere." I. "Das Gehirn der Selachier," mit 6 lithogr. II. "Das Mittelhirn der Ganoiden und Teleostier," mit 1 lithogr., vii + 74. pp. 4°, Leipzig, 1870.
6. "Über einige Schwämme des nördlichen Stillen Oceans und des Eismeens, welche im Zoologischen Museum der kaiserl. Acad. der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg aufbewahrt werden" (*Mémoires de l'Académie impér. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, vii^e, Série, t. xv, No. 3, 1870, T 4°).
7. "Bemerkungen zur Schwamm-Fauna des Weissen-Meeres und des Arctischen Oceans" (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 1871, xv, pp. 203-5).
8. "Eine zoologische Excursion an das Rothe Meer" (*Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen*, 1870, xvi, pp. 124-6).

1871-76:

1. "Temperaturbeobachtung in der Tiefe von 1,000 Faden im aquatorialen Theile des Atlantischen Oceans" (*Bulletin de l'Acad. des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, xvi, 1871, p. 346).
2. "Mijn verblijf aan de Oostkust van Nieuw-Guinea in de Jaren 1871 en 1872" (*Natuurkundig Tijdschrift*. Batavia, 1873. xxxiii, pp. 114-126; *Nature*, 1874, ix, pp. 328-330).
3. "Anthropologische Bemerkungen über die Papuas der Maclay-Küste in Neu-Guinea" (*op. cit.*, xxxiii, p. 225).
4. "Notice météorologique concernant la Côte-Maclay en Nouvelle-Guinée" (*op. cit.*, xxxiii, pp. 430-2).
5. "Papua-Dialecte der Maclay-Küste in Neu-Guinea" (*Bulletin of the Imperial Russian Geogr. Soc.*, 1874).
6. "Meine zweite Reise nach Neu Guinea. Die Papuas der insel Lüzon" (*Petermanns Geographische Mittheilungen*, 1874, xx, No. 1, pp. 22-3).
7. "Meine zweite Excursion nach Neu Guinea (1874)." Batavia, 1876 (*Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, xxxvi, pp. 148-179).

8. "Über die Papuas-Malayische Mischung in den westlichen Molukken; Über "Brachycephalität bei den Papuas von Neu Guinea." Batavia, 1874 (*Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, xxxiv, pp. 345-7).
9. "Ethnologische Bemerkungen über die Papuas der Maclay-Küste in Neu Guinea," I. (Batavia, 1875; *Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, xxxv, pp. 66-93); II. (Batavia, 1876; *op. cit.*, xxxvi, pp. 294-333).
10. *Nature*, 1876, xiv, pp. 107-9, 136-7.
11. "Brachycephality amongst Papuans." Singapore, 1875 (*Journ. of E. Asia*, ed. by James Collins, Vol. I, No. 1, July).
12. "Ethnologische Excursion in Johore (15th December 1874 to 2nd February 1875). Vorläufige Mittheilung." Batavia (*Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, 1875, xxxv, pp. 250-8).
13. "Ethnologische Excursionen in der Malayischen Halbinsel (November 1874 "to" October 1875). Vorläufige Mittheilung, 1875." Batavia (*Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, 1876, xxxvi, pp. 1-26); Singapore (*Roy. Asiat. Soc. Journ.*, 1878, pp. 204-221).
14. "An Ethnological Excursion in Johore," with photographic frontispiece representing Heads of the Orang-Utan race of Johore. Singapore, 1875 (*Journ. of E. Asia*, ed. by James Collins, Vol. I, No. 1, July).
15. "Ein Opiumrauchversuch. Physiologische Notiz." Batavia, 1875 (*Natuurk. Tijdschr.*, xxxv, pp. 243-249).
16. "Sprachrudiment der Orang-Utan von Johore" (*Mittheil. der Kais. Acad. der Wissenschaften in St. Petersburg*), 1875.
17. "Einiges über die Dialecte der Melanesischen Völkerschaften in der Malayischen Halbinsel." Batavia, 1876.
18. "Über die Orang-Semang und Orang-Sakai" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Anthr. Ges.*, 1876).
19. "Anthropologische Notizen gessammelt auf einer Reise in West-Mikronesien und Nord Melanesien im Jahre, 1876" (*Zeitschr. für Ethnologie*, 1878, x, pp. 99-118; *Sitzungs-berichte der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr.*, Sitzung, 3 März, 1878).
20. "Grosszähniige Melanesier" (*Zeitschr. für Ethnogr.*, 1876).
21. "Über die grosszähniigen Melanesier" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr.*, 1876).

1877-79:

1. "Vestiges de l'Art chez les Papouas de la Côte-Maclay en Nouvelle-Guinée" (*Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, tome 1^{er}, 3^{me} Série, 1878).
2. "A remarkable Deformity of the Teeth among the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Isles" (*Nature*, 1877, xvi, p. 251).
3. "On Macrodontism" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. of N.S. Wales*, 1879, III, pp. 169-173).
4. "Über vulkanische Erscheinungen an der nord-östlichen Küste Neu-Guineas" (*Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1878, xxiv, pp. 408-10).
5. "Reise in West-Mikronesien und Nord-Melanesien und ein dritter Aufenthalt in Neu-Guinea von Feb. 1876 bis Jan. 1878" (*op. cit.*, 1879).
6. "Osservazioni ethnologici sui Papua" (*Cosmos*, ed. Guido Cora, 1877).
7. "Anatomical Remarks" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. of N.S. Wales*, 1878).
8. "On the Dentition of the Heterodonti" (*ibid.*).
9. "On the external genital organs of the Male Heterodontus Philippi" (*ibid.*).
10. "Beiträge zur vergleichenden Neurologie der Wirbelthiere."

11. "Plagiostomata of the Pacific." Part I, "Fam. Heterodontidae," with five Plates (*Proc. Linn. Soc. of N.S. Wales*, 1879, III, pp. 306-34).
12. "Rassen-anatomische Studien in Australien" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr., Ethn., und Urgeschichte*, 1879, 1881).
13. "Proposed Zoological Station for Sydney" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. of N.S. Wales*, 1878, III).
14. "Gründung einer Zoologischen Station in Sydney" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr.*, 1878).
16. "Einige Worte über die noch nicht vorhandene Zoologische Station in Sydney" (*op. cit.*, 1879).
16. "Australian Zoological Station" (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1880).
17. "The proposed Zoological Station at Sydney" (*Nature*, 1879, Sydney).

1880-1884 :

1. "A short Résumé of the results of Anthropological and Anatomical Researches " in Melanesia and Australia, 1879-81" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1882, vi, pp. 171-5).
2. "On Volcanic Activity on the Islands near the north-east coast of New Guinea " and Evidence of Rising of the Maclay-Coast in New Guinea" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1881, ix).
3. "Über vulcanische Erscheinungen an der n.-ö. Küste Neu-Guineas" (*Petermanns Mittheilungen*, 1878).
4. "Eine Excursion an die süd öst Küste Neu-Guineas" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthropol. Ethnol., und Urgeschichte*, 1881).
5. "Reise nach den Inseln Melanesiens" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr., &c.*, 1879).
6. "Zusammenstellung der Ergebnisse anthropologischer Studien während einer "Reise in Melanesien" (*op. cit.*, 1880).
7. "Die Schonung der Eingeborenen in New-Guinea" (*op. cit.*, 1870).
8. "Notes on the Zoology of the Maclay-Coast in New Guinea (Brachymeliss "Garagassi and Macropus-Tibol)" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1881, vol. ix-x).
9. "List of Plants in use by the Natives of the Maclay-Coast in New Guinea" (*op. cit.*, Vol. X).
10. "Note about the Temperature of the Sea-Water along the Eastern Coast of "Australia, observed in July 1878 and 1883" (*op. cit.*, 1883).
11. "Über haarlose Australier" (*Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1881, xiii, 143-9; *Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr.*, 1881).
12. "Remarks on a Skull of an Australian Aboriginal from the Lachlan District" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1884, viii, 395-6).
13. "On a very dolichocephalic Skull of an Australian Aboriginal (*op. cit.*, viii, 401-3).
14. "Langbeinigkeit der Australischen Frauen" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr., &c.*, 1880).
15. "Leichnam eines Australiers" (*op. cit.*, 1881).
16. "Cranial Deformation of Newborn Children at the Island of Mariaka and "other Islands of Torres-Straits, and of Women of the S.E. Peninsula of "New Guinea" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*, 1881, vi).
17. "On the Practice of Ovariectomy by the Natives of the Herbert River in Queensland" (*op. cit.*, vi).
18. "Über die Mika-operation in Central Australien" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Ges. für Anthr., &c.*, 1880).

19. "Über Ovariectomie bei Australien" (*Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1882).
20. "On a complete Debauchment of the Sulcus-Rolando into the Tissura-Sylvii
" in some Brains of Australian Aborigines" (*Proc. Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales*,
1881, ix).
21. "Note on the Brain of *Halicore-Australis*" (*op. cit.*, x).
22. "Remarks about the Circumvolution of the Cerebrum of *Canis-Dingo*"
(*op. cit.*, 1881, vi, pp. 624-6).
23. "The Barometro-Araucano from the Chiloe Islands" (*op. cit.*, 1881, vi,
462-3).
24. "A Solution for Preserving Large Vertebrata for Anatomical Examination"
(*op. cit.*, vi, 576-9).
25. "Temperature of the Body of *Echidna-hystrix*. Cuv." (*op. cit.*, pp. 425-6).
26. "On the Temperature of the Body of *Ornithorhynchus-Paradoxus*" (*Proc.*
Linn. Soc. N.S. Wales, 1881, ix).
27. "On a New Species of Kangaroo (*Doriopsis Chalmersii*) from the S.E. end
" of New Guinea" (*ibid.*).
28. "On Two New Species of *Doriopsis* from the South Coast of New Guinea
" (*Doriopsis-Beccarii*, *Doriopsis-Macleayi*)" (*op. cit.*, 1881, x).
29. "On Two New Species of *Macropus* from the South Coast of New Guinea :
" (*Macropus-Iukesii*, *Macropus-Gracilis*)" (*op. cit.*, 1881, ix).
30. "Notes on the Direction of the Hair on the Back of the same Kangaroos"
(*ibid.*).
31. "Sexuelles aus Australien" (*Zeitschr. für Ethnol.*, 1880).
32. "Temperature of the Rock in the Magdala-Shaft, Victoria" (*Proc. Linn.*
Soc. N.S. Wales, 1881, vi, pp. 579-580).
33. "Über die Töpfer-Arbeit der Papuas" (*Verhandl. der Berlin. Anthr. Ges.*,
xiv, 1882).

Besides these works printed in foreign languages, there remains, still only in MS., the great bulk of his work presented by his widow to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Most of the works from his pen which were printed in Russian during his lifetime are to be found in the Bulletins (*Isviestia*) of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society for the years 1886-1887. Some few were printed in various other publications, such as *Novoye Vremya*, *Novosti*, *Golos*, and *Znanie*.

Abstract and translation by

M. A. CZAPLICKA.

REVIEWS.

Africa, West.

Tessmann.

Die Pangwe: Völkerkundliche Monographie eines Westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Von Gunter Tessmann. 2 Vols. Ernst Wasmuth, Berlin, 1913. **99**

This is one of the most careful, thorough, and sympathetic contributions to our knowledge of a West African people. The Pangwe—or Pahouins, as they are known to the French—inhabit the coastal regions stretching from the South Kamerun into French Congo, and are among the most important and interesting of Bantu races. In type they would appear, from the excellent photographs, to be much like the Ekoi of the Cross River.

Like many West African peoples, the Pangwe still have traditions of a journey across from Eastern Africa, impelled partly, according to their own account, by a longing for the "Gottes-reich," supposed to lie to the westward. "Wo allabendlich das leuchtende Tages-gestirn versank." Their very name for God, *Nsambe*, appears to be derived from that of the sun.

As instances of Soudanese connection may be cited the helmet-like head-dresses, almost exactly similar to those still worn among the Fikans of Bornu, and the form

and ornamentation of the battle axes in use among the pagans of the Murchison Range in Northern Nigeria.

Every side of the national life is considered in this excellent monograph, by a man who had made himself master of the language and won the confidence of the people. As pointed out in the introduction by Dr. Richard Karutz, to whose efforts the Lubeck Expedition, of which the present work is the result, was mainly due :—

"Derselbe Beobachter auf demselben Fleck, unter dieselben ihm vertrauten Leute gestellt, deren Sprache er beherrschte, musste bei einem neuen längeren Aufenthalte auf einer und derselben Station tiefer in das Volksleben eindringen können, als manche noch so grosse Expedition mit einem 'Stab von Gelehrten'."

Certainly the results, as here recorded, fully justify this opinion.

The sympathetic point of view from which Herr Tessmann regards his subject is shown perhaps most clearly in his remark concerning the native belief that a father, prevented by poverty from purchasing a wife for his son in any other manner, is capable of changing himself into a leopard in order to be shot by his offspring and thus provide the necessary bride-price through the sale of skin, flesh, &c.

"Welch ein Mut und welch ein Glauben gehört dazu, um einem Vater eine solche riesenhafte Liebe zuzutrauen, dass er auf das lange, lange glückliche Zusammenleben mit Gott verzichtet und sich für sein Kind opfert, nur um diesem ein doch immerhin nichtiges Glück und einen rein gesellschaftlichen Vorteil zu verschaffen! Also die Liebe ist doch auch beim Neger kein leerer Wahn!" (p. 103, Vol. II).

To many readers, perhaps, the most interesting pages will be those dealing with the secret societies. The author was fortunate enough to witness the rites of most of the principal male cults; of the all but impossibility for any man to learn the inner secrets of feminine cults he writes :—

"Die Schwierigkeiten, welche allgemein zu überwinden waren, ehe ich auch nur einen flüchtigen Einblick in das Kultwesen der Männer bekam, die sich ausdenken habe ich dem Leser überlassen. Hinsichtlich der Weiberkulte häuften sich diese Schwierigkeiten eben durch den Ausschluss des männlichen Geschlechts und die natürliche Scheu der Frauen derart, das es mir nicht möglich war, persönlich zu ihnen Zutritt zu erlangen" (p. 94, Vol. II).

What he succeeded in learning as to the Mawungu woman's society appears to connect this with the great Efik and Ibibio cult of Ndito *Iban* and *Iban Isong*. Not only is the dance, with which the festivities close, called *Eban*, but the performers also dress in male attire, while their leader marches gun in hand and sword girdled.

In conclusion, a tribute of warm admiration must be expressed for the author's researches and discoveries, not only in the realms of anthropology but also in those of botany and zoology.

P. AMAURY TALBOT.

Indonesia.

Die Heilkunde der Niasser. By Dr. J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan. Nijhoff. 100
Haag. 1913. Pp. 292.

Dr. de Zwaan is heartily to be congratulated on this book, for it marks a distinct advance in the ethnology of the East Indian Archipelago. The title is, perhaps, a little unfortunate, for it might lead the reader to suppose that the book is a treatise upon the therapeutical methods of the people of this island, whereas it is really a work upon the beliefs of these peoples in spiritual beings and in their influence upon human beings. Chapters are, indeed, devoted to zymotic and skin diseases, pulmonary complaints, surgical methods and venereal diseases, but the real

interest of the book lies rather in the part played by spirits and ghosts than in the purely medical aspect.

The first chapter covers much ground. In it we are given accounts (unfortunately sometimes mixed up with those of previous writers) of the various kinds of spirits in which the people of Nias believe, and some very valuable information is given as to their localisation. For example, the *beghu hedoja* is an evil spirit that is much feared: It lives in the forest and is of human shape and black in colour. The *beghu doya* is an evil spirit that is very much feared in north Nias. It is human in shape and it lives in caves (p. 15). The *beghu bela* lives in high trees. It is human in form with white skin and hair, and particularly likes to roam about when it rains and the sun shines at the same time (p. 16). The *beghu sihelu dano* in north Nias is like a goat with no horns; its eyes shine like fire. In south Nias it lives in holes in the ground, and it is like a black, white, or brown pig (p. 16). In the later chapters Dr. de Zwaan tells us much about the relationship of various spirits to the different diseases from which the people of Nias suffer. *Sihelu dano*, for example, is supposed by the people of south Nias to be the cause of malaria (pp. 84, 86), and the *beghu sibua* is particularly to be respected by pregnant women (pp. 14, 183). Dr. de Zwaan also gives us some valuable information about the *bela*, spirits that are, on the whole, well-disposed. They used once to live on friendly terms with mankind, but quarrelled (pp. 59, 60).

Dr. de Zwaan also gives an account of the initiation of a priest and a medicine-man (pp. 38, *et seq.*). It is interesting that the localisation of spirits plays a part here, for the novice usually begins by disappearing without warning into the forest, where he is supposed to be kept in some high tree by an evil spirit (p. 41). After an offering has been made to the tree the spirit generally lets him free so that he can return to the village. If he does not return within a certain time it is supposed that he has been taken to the chief spirit, who lives at the north end of the island, to be taught religion. When, however, he eventually returns, he is supposed to be in a position to have intercourse with the spirits. He is taken by the priest to the burial-place to gain acquaintance with the ghosts of the dead; to the edge of the water to recognise the water spirits; and then to the tops of the mountains to learn about the mountain spirits (pp. 43, 44). It is also interesting, in view of these last remarks, that the images made in certain cases of illness are put in these various places according to the particular kind of illness. The spirits which are localised in various places cause different complaints, and the images are placed in the appropriate spot that corresponds to the spirit that caused the illness (p. 111).

There is one feature about this book that will delight all who believe in the importance of the cultural aspect of ethnology. Dr. de Zwaan has recorded in many cases the variants of ceremonies and beliefs which are to be found in the different district of this islands. It has long been known that there are at least two distinct cultures present in Nias: this can easily be shown by the differences in house-construction, in the disposal of the dead, and in other things, but we are generally told by those who write about the island that the "Niassers" do this or believe that, and no mention is made of the district whence the information comes. The practice started by Rosenberg and Nieuwenhuis,* and continued by Rappard† with such thoroughness, of indicating the differences between the north and south parts of the island, has been admirably continued by Dr. de Zwaan. When describing circumcision, tooth-filing, and ear-boring, he gives detailed accounts from north, south,

* S. T. Nieuwenhuis en H. C. B. V. Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het eiland Nias en desselfs bewoners," *Verh. Bat. Gen.*, Dl xxx, 1863.

† T. C. Rappard, "Het eiland Nias en zijne bewoners, Bijd. taal. land-en volk." van Ned. Indie. 7th Ser., viii, 1909.

east, and west Nias. The same is the case with his accounts of all the beliefs and practices connected with birth.

The images, *adu*, that are made for various purposes in this island generally have large sexual organs (62 *et. seq.*). On p. 64 accounts are given from the different parts of the island of the meaning attached to them. They occur in the north, south, and east parts of the island, but the account from the west district says, "According to the account of Chief Commissioner Laverman the *adu* are only "provided with genitalia in the districts Moroo Lulu and Moroo Lahomi; in the "remaining nine districts of west Nias this is, however, not the case. In the "first-named districts the sexual organs have no significance attached to them by "the people." It is just such cases as this which make all so-called "psychological" explanations so untrustworthy. The case for the necessity of culture analysis rests as much upon the absence of social phenomena as upon the difference between them. The accurate mapping-out of the distribution of a custom or a belief throughout a region of sufficient extent will at once disclose the presence of difficulties that are almost insuperable if it be wished to give the belief or custom a "psychological" explanation, and it is simply owing to the fact that books such as this are so few and far between that this latter mode of interpretation of social phenomena has persisted so long. Another good example of the same sort is given by Dr. de Zwaan. The belief in the evil eye is recorded in several districts of Nias; the evil glance of man and beast is supposed to cause illness (p. 79). This belief is present in all parts of the island except the Masio district (p. 79). Many other examples of the same kind could be found in this book. The information that Dr. de Zwaan gives about the localisation of the various kinds of spirits also goes to prove that the current modes of explaining the workings of the mind of primitive man are inadequate, and that, before we know far more about problems of distribution of beliefs and practices than we do at present, any attempt at explanation is premature and almost certainly bound to fail.

It is much to be hoped that the example of the author will be followed by those who write in the future upon the customs and beliefs of rude peoples. The record of the distribution of social phenomena is essential if ethnology is to become scientific. The case for the analysis of culture will gain in proportion with the growth of our knowledge of the distribution of social facts.

The chapters on disease reveal the existence of an extremely logical mind in the case of the peoples of Nias. As an example, the reader is referred to the account that Dr. de Zwaan gives of the detection of pregnancy, the causes of conception, gestation, and the process whereby the child acquires its "soul."

There is a bibliography and an index, which latter is a great treat to those who have to do with the literature of Indonesia.

W. J. PERRY.

Physical Anthropology.

Boas.

Descendants of Immigrants, Changes in Bodily Form of. By Franz Boas. 1912. Columbia University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

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An enormous mass of figures concerning immigrants into America is here collected and tabulated to support views which, if accepted and developed, would make a considerable difference in our anthropological outlook. "It would be saying "too much," Professor Boas urges, "to claim that all the distinct European types "become the same in America, without mixture, solely by the action of the new "environment. First of all, we have investigated only the effect of one environ- "ment, and we have every reason to believe that a number of distinct types are "developing in America. But we will set aside this point and discuss only our

" New York observations. Although the long-headed Sicilian becomes more round-headed in New York, and the round-headed Bohemian and Hebrew more long-headed, the approach to a uniform general type cannot be established, because we do not know yet how long the changes continue and whether they would all lead to the same result. I confess I do not consider such a result as likely, because the proof of the plasticity of types does not imply that the plasticity is unlimited. The history of the British types in America, of the Dutch in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in South America favours the assumption of a strictly limited plasticity. Certainly our discussion should be based on this more conservative basis until an unexpectedly wide range of variability of types can be proved."

This statement of the author's position is wise in its moderation, but a good many students of his pages will hesitate to go even as far as that. Professor Boas has studied and applied the statistical method with evident care and manifest anxiety to avoid influences of preconceived notions, but it may be doubted whether the statistical method is adapted to the purpose in hand. It often happens that the number measured for some particular ages or groups is small, and there is too little allowance for the consideration that to set an average of a few cases alongside an average of a large number of cases without discrimination is often to step into error. The method of statistics and averages has also drawbacks of a more fundamental character in anthropological matters. We need to be very sure that we are averaging homologous constituents, and this we cannot ensure, as our Bohemians, Hebrews, English, or whatever they may be, are probably complex mixtures of race types, as most peoples are. County averages of cephalic indices, for example, happen to be very uniform in Britain, and even Ripley has been led towards the supposition that heads are fairly uniform in index in Britain. County averages of cephalic indices in an old settled country like Britain probably mean almost nothing at all, for the population includes samples of many types persisting side by side.

Bearing this danger in mind, we look at Professor Boas's tables. His Bohemian males, to begin with, probably include a considerable mixture of types, such as is found in the population of Bohemia, and the attempt to average them suggests a danger which is illustrated in the table of cephalic indices of these Bohemian males on p. 183. Thus, five boys were measured at 6 years of age; their indices are respectively 79, 86, 92, 92, and 94. This is surely not sufficient justification for giving the average of 88.6 a meaning. Or again, there are eight people measured at the age of 20; two of them have the index 73, the other six have it as follows: 80, 81, 83, 84, 88, 93. This is a fortuitous group which should not be discussed as if it were a group of eight with index round about the chance average of 81.9. This criticism does not apply by any means to all Professor Boas's tables, but it brings out some weak links in his chain of evidence, and weaknesses of this kind are unfortunately inherent in all statistical work. Boas's tables XXVIII-XXXI detail comparisons of parents with their own American-born and foreign-born children and make one suspect that behind these figures are facts which might be free from the limitations above mentioned. In the tables, however, the figures are given as averages for varying numbers of cases, not as absolute measurements for distinct individual families.

Boas confirms other workers' observations in stating that, as regards cephalic index, children do not usually form a blend between their parents, but show the one type or the other; this view, however, he again bases on averages and on calculations rather than on individual cases. In some of the tables, cephalic indices are reduced to adult equivalents, an average annual reduction being allowed. Here again it seems

difficult to obtain satisfactory results; some other workers' experience is that the details of human growth are not materials for profitable averaging except within well-marked limits. In fact, all deductions from the study of cephalic indices of children should be treated with much reserve for the present. Boas has worked in the congested districts of New York, and his results as regards stature are sociologically interesting. The statures of Hebrews and Slavonic peoples from eastern Europe increases, and it would seem that even the wretched New York conditions are better than those of their old homes. The case is otherwise with the Sicilian and Neapolitans, as one would expect. Anthropologically, however, these considerations of stature are of less importance than those concerning cephalic index. A minor point, nevertheless, does arise, for Boas's Sicilians seem to be fairly good Mediterranean types, and it is characteristic of the corresponding element among the peoples of western and north-western Europe, and especially of the British Isles, that their stature tends to be somewhat above that which is characteristic for them in the Mediterranean region itself. It has been hinted that absence of malaria, and perhaps delay of sexual maturity, may help to account for this, but perhaps conditions of nutrition may be sufficient, for one would expect the absence of malaria and the possible delay of sexual maturity to operate in New York much as they would in Britain, and yet there, apparently owing to the congestion, the stature actually decreases.

It is perhaps in the study of pigmentation that the statistical method seems most dangerous, but any criticism on this ground of method is intended rather as a reflection on the extreme difficulty of physical anthropological research than as an attack on Professor Boas or on his work. Every method is open to objection, and the most individualised treatment is subject to the difficulty that we do not know exactly what are our *pure types*. Still, by noting together as many relevant characters of one and the same individual as possible, and by making similar notes concerning his mate and concerning their descendants, we may hope to avoid some errors inherent in the method of statistics and averages when applied to the study of such problems as Boas has attacked. In spite of difficulties and probable errors due to method, however, Boas has given some ground for a presumption that a new environment may in some way lead to modification of average type in an increasing degree for the first few generations.

Granting that Professor Boas's conclusions are justified to a considerably greater extent than seems probable, we are still very far from needing to discard study of cephalic characters in connection with race history. He would probably dissociate himself from the view that even the potent American environment could obliterate inherited differences of long standing. The influence of the environment may be considerable, but that it cannot wipe out differences is shown by the indisputable fact that we have in Britain, living side by side, century after century, the most definite examples of Scandinavian, Mediterranean, and other types, and even unmistakable survivors here and there of types very close to that of the Galley Hill man. Thanks to alternative inheritance, race-character is incredibly persistent, and the results of the study of individuals rather than that of averages are emphasizing this belief.

H. J. FLEURE.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTE.

MAJOR S. L. CUMMINS, member of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute, has received from the French President the *Croix d'Officier* of the Legion of Honour for gallantry in the field during the operations between August 21st and 30th. 102





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